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American Indians: Sense of Place and Contested Terrain

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American Indians: Sense of Place and Contested Terrain

Final Report of Research

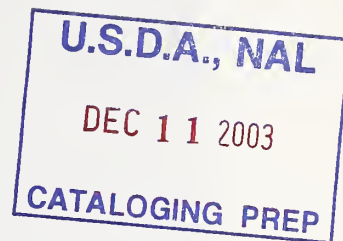
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The people of the west coast of Vancouver Island used to be called Nootka by the Europeans. We know ourselves as Nuuchahnulth, which can be translated as "along the mountains" and refers to our traditional territories.

The Nuuchahnulth Tribal Council

The map above shows the approximate locations of the traditional territories of the 19 groups represented by the Nuuchahnulth Tribal Council.

Introduction

Purpose

The purpose of this research is to describe the historical relationships the Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka) people of Washington state and British Columbia have both with the lands surrounding their communities and with the government agencies that control these lands. This description will focus on the Nuu-chah-nulth side of what is a shared history of involvement with a contested territory. This study will also: describe the contemporary meanings of place held by the Nuu-chah-nulth people; examine how historical relationships over contested terrain may influence contemporary sense of place in American Indian communities; and, make recommendations to land management agencies concerning American Indians, sense of place and contested terrain. Please see attached map for a description of Nuu-chah-nulth traditional territories.

Background

There is a general effort in natural resource management and research to better understand the values, constraints, and behaviors of distinct cultural groups as our society moves toward more diversity. The trend towards ecosystem management means we need to better understand the cultural values of all groups involved, including indigenous peoples (Kimmerer, 2000).

Sense of place has been gaining considerable recent attention in land management and outdoor recreation research, with researchers examining the bonds that develop gradually through long residence or frequent time spent in a defined place. Outdoor recreation research has also recently focused on the recreation patterns and needs of persons of color (McAvoy, Winter, Outley, McDonald & Chavez, 2000). In a review of literature on American Indians and leisure, McDonald & McAvoy (1997) recommend sense of place research to focus on the lengthy cultural relationship many American Indians have with particular pieces of land; and, that research take into account the historical relationships between aboriginal peoples and the government. This cultural relationship of American Indians and the land often includes involvement with governmental agencies; and, often includes conflict over contested terrain, traditional lands important to American Indians but under governmental management. A number of American Indian/First Nation tribal groups historically spanned the United States/Canadian border. Many still do. These groups deal with governmental land management agencies in both countries; and, they do

so within the somewhat similar and yet different governmental and legal structures found in each country. There is a need to explore the similarities and the differences in how these tribal groups relate to the land and to the land management agencies of both countries.

There is also a need for resource management agencies and their personnel to more fully understand the historical and current aspects of contested terrain regarding American Indians. Resource management agencies are increasingly attempting to work cooperatively with tribal governments and peoples to manage lands on and adjacent to tribal reserves and reservations. Many tribal groups are now negotiating with federal, state and provincial resource managers concerning the use of tribal lands, as well as lands and natural resources near reserves and reservations.

Many of the employees of resource management agencies have little understanding of the world view of American Indians, or how that world view influences their values and behaviors. Management agency personnel often do not understand the depth of meaning and the cultural ties that American Indians can have to lands that were once utilized by tribal peoples but are now under the management jurisdiction of governmental agencies. It is sometimes difficult for white resource managers to understand the cultural values and attachment to place that underlies American Indian positions on issues like sovereignty, hunting/fishing/gathering privileges, and access to traditional uses areas and sacred sites. This has often resulted in conflict, and this lack of understanding makes cooperative management difficult. These conflicts, which have emerged from the competing realities of Anglo-American land managers and American Indians, create the need for inquiry into a better understanding of the American Indian side of the issue. Differences in communication and styles of social interaction also lead to conflict. Though not central to this study, they are a reality.

This research is intended to increase understanding of contested terrain issues and to develop recommendations for easing some of the problems that come from contested terrain conflicts.

Review of Literature

Sense of Place

Sense of place describes the bonds people develop with the land through long residence or frequent times spent in a defined place. Academics were first introduced to the science of place by the field of geography. Early place studies focused on “things” in a positivist approach and how they were arranged in spatial patterns (Roberts, 1996). It wasn't until the mid 1900's that cultural geographers became interested in searching for

links between the physical environment and people's way of life. Quantitative research was conducted noting feedback mechanisms between ecosystems and the people living in them. During this time communities began to be viewed, by the scientific community, as in a constant state of interaction and interdependence with nature. However, the psychological and spiritual dimensions of the human/nature relationship were not a major focus of the studies. Attention was given to the practicality of function in the physical realm. Studies still concentrated on describing human relationships to "things" in places, their material form, and utility as natural resources (Roberts, 1996).

People's feelings for place have only begun to be examined in the past twenty to thirty years. Combining qualitative techniques with quantitative studies, behavioral geographers (Roberts, 1996) looked at people's functional relationship with place as well as their emotions concerning that place. Tuan (1974) concluded that natural environment and worldview are closely related. He stated that an individual's worldview is constructed out of the salient elements of their physical setting. Expanding on this, Eyles (1985) concluded that sense of place has more meaning than the mere feeling, positive or negative, people develop toward spaces. Experiences, in terms of the individual's whole life, need also be taken into consideration. It is these experiences which help to shape personal sense of place and they are not independent forces divorced from one's life.

Tuan's is the most widely cited and progressive literature on sense of place. Using various methodologies, Tuan examined affective ties or bonds which are developed between people and the natural environments they interact with over long periods of time (1974). One way Tuan did this was by comparing the visitor experience to the native experience ("native" in this sense refers to anyone who hales from a particular place, not necessarily an aboriginal). The visitor's point of view, Tuan discovered, was easily expressed due to the relative simplicity of their experience in the place. The native's point of view, however, could only be expressed with difficulty and indirectly through behavior, local traditions, lore, and myth. Later Tuan (1977) separated sense of place from the condition of being rooted in a particular place. Following Tuan's later research, it was not only possible to establish sense of place by looking at long term ties to places but sense of place could also be theoretically established by looking at other mechanisms such as intensity of experience. Sense of place moved from being an unconscious condition of one's existence to a self conscious one (Roberts, 1996).

Until very recently, sense of place was only used to describe environmental meaning in the fields of environmental psychology, human geography, and anthropology. It is now being seen in literature related to the arts and humanities, (Allen & Schlereth, 1990; & Said, 1993) and leisure sciences (Dasmann, 1982; Williams, Patterson &

Roggenbuck, 1992; Williams & Carr, 1993; Brandenburg & Carroll 1995; Jostad, 1996; McDonald & McAvoy, 1996 & 1997; Williams & Patterson, 1996; Norton & Hannon, 1997; Redmond, 1998; Williams & Stuart, 1998).

The majority of contemporary place theories define place as a physical location with the following three components: physical activities, human activities, and the human psychological processes relating to it (Brandenburg and Carroll, 1995). Historically, people have looked to forests, animals, minerals, and other elements of the ecosystem to symbolize spiritual values, life-ways, and beliefs (Schroeder, 1992). Still, resource managers have usually planned land use emphasizing economic values of resources. They often see humans as separate from nature (Williams & Stewart, 1998). They sometimes ignore the emotional, symbolic, spiritual, and other widely perceived intrinsic values of the natural world that are inherent in the creation of place (Jorgensen, 1984; Williams, Patterson, & Roggenbuck, 1992; Brandenburg & Carroll, 1995, Williams & Patterson, 1996; Norton & Hannon, 1997; Redmond, 1998; Williams & Stuart, 1998). Williams and Patterson (1996) conclude that in developing a more contextual and human understanding of ecosystems (and ecosystem management) it is important to consider the human meanings of place. In essence, as much attention should be paid to cultural history as natural history.

The concept of sense of place as defined by Williams and Patterson begins to move away from the traditional Anglo-American concepts of place, which have the primary purpose of fulfilling human consumptive needs, and toward a definition of a deep connectedness of people and wild places. Williams, Patterson, Roggenbuck & Watson, (1992) also begin to define sense of place in terms which give it meaning to recreation resource managers. In a study conducted on sense of place and its significance to resource managers, Williams et. al., (1992), explain that resource managers are just recently beginning to understand the significance and impact of emotional, symbolic, and spiritual values people place on wild lands. This understanding captures the connections between people and spaces directly. Traditionally, the relationship between people and the environments they participate in have only been looked at in terms of use patterns and user characteristics. Emotional, symbolic, and spiritual explanations move away from the traditional Anglo-American concepts of place, which have the purpose of fulfilling human consumptive needs, and toward a definition of a deep connectedness between people and wild places.

Much of the sense of place literature on meaning for individuals has focused on place attachment and personal identity. In a study of recreational homeowners in Norway, Kaltenborn (1997) concluded that place attachment for individuals is not associated as much with activities as it is with more general concepts such as nature and history. Historic

cultural and ideological constructs associated with outdoor life traditions were found to be more important in creating sense of place than the current local population and cultural context. Kaltenborn (1997) also found that despite a life-long attachment to the place, study participants reported finding little pleasure in using their recreational homes due to distress caused by nearby land-use changes from increased logging and road building. Their historic relationship to the place had changed more than they could accept. Personal sense of place and meaning had been radically affected.

The concept of meaning is also important when examining what sense of place represents to people. The sociocultural paradigm has been widely used to describe meanings that the natural world has for social groups and individuals alike (Williams et. al. 1992; Brandenburg & Carroll, 1995; Williams & Patterson, 1996; Kaltenborn, 1997; Norton & Hannon, 1997). For example, sociocultural groups find different meanings in neighborhood parks through established local territorial definitions and informal knowledge-based rules of ownership (Williams & Patterson, 1996). Furthermore, places embed environmental values and meaning in people. These meanings are then passed along by the traditions in their primary social group (Brandenburg & Carroll, 1995).

Williams and Patterson (1996) classify place meanings into three categories to map meaning for resource managers. The first category in this framework is instrumental/goal-directed meanings. This approach can be considered to be the traditional Anglo-American view of resource management whereby humans are seen as rational planners empowered to choose the most appropriate options within a system of sociophysical opportunities and limitations. The natural resources being managed offer specific benefits including recreation, harvestable timber, commercial fisheries, and agriculture. Humans are empowered to decide how best to appropriate those resources based on consumptive needs and sustainable limits.

The second classification outlined by Williams and Patterson (1996) is individual/expressive meaning. This category can best be described as the meanings humans attach to places as a whole, even to the extent of identifying with a place. This is much more subjective than instrumental/goal-directed meaning in that intangible and expressive meaning is given to a particular place. Individual/expressive meanings do not necessarily compartmentalize aspects of a place. Places are seen in their totality and offer individuals the opportunity to identify with them on a personal level.

The third classification, rooted in the sociocultural paradigm, is similar to what Kaltenborn (1997) has described. Referred to as cultural/ symbolic meaning by Williams and Patterson (1996), this category places importance on spiritual, cultural, historic, and geographical context of everyday life. This perspective places humans within the realm of

an ecosystem, rather than as managers of its commodities or observers of its grandeur. Not only does a place give the individual the opportunity of personally identifying with it, it creates a sense of history, spirituality, and cultural significance for a whole group.

In sum, when examining sense of place it is important to note the various meanings individuals and groups attach to places. The meanings of sense of place range from concise, tangible terms which define economic and material needs to broad, elusive terms which give spiritual, cultural, and personal meaning to places for individuals and groups alike. There is, however, a danger in focusing too closely on meanings of place which are centered in the commodity based paradigm. The more obvious dangers are those that may lead to the exploitation and over-utilization of natural resources. Results which may not be so obvious can lead to interpersonal and cultural conflict by not recognizing the beliefs and values held by the diverse groups of people involved in land use and management. These contrasting views, sometimes deeply imbedded, often account for conflict.

American Indians and Sense of Place

In the past two decades, researchers have more frequently been including indigenous peoples in sense of place literature. This has been spurred by an interest in environmental conflicts and the attitudes which helped to create them. The sociocultural paradigm regarding place has been widely used to describe meaning the natural world has for social groups and individuals alike. Sociocultural groups find different meaning for place through established local territorial definitions and informal knowledge-based rules of ownership. Furthermore, meanings given to place are governed by formal rules of ownership and use. Since the Anglo-American culture usually dominates the political, land ownership and economic landscape, these rules are often viewed by ethnic minorities as White, middle-class, and exclusionary (Williams and Patterson, 1996).

Jorgensen (1984) and Rudner (1994) both examined environmental conflicts involving American Indians, ranchers, miners, and environmentalists. Each underscored the environmental views held by American Indians as being more intertwined with culture, tradition, and personal meaning. In general, both Jorgensen and Rudner concluded that American Indians in modern society not only see resources as economic commodities but also as cultural ones. As an example, Morishima states that tribal forests may be managed to "provide food, medicines and materials for transportation, household use and artistic expression and they serve as sanctuary for worship, contemplation and inspiration" (1997, p. 5). There have been numerous studies conducted to examine indigenous people's relationships with place on emotional, spiritual, and historical levels. These studies have

provided evidence that nature and the places where people live need not be so dichotomous (Roberts, 1996).

In current literature regarding American Indians and park lands, the relationships between people and the land are even more seamless. McDonald and McAvoy (1996) wrote that to most indigenous cultures, the ideal of park and wilderness preservation requires a view of humans as detached and somehow responsible for managing nature. Furthermore, recreation is a notion of purposeful, restorative activity which has been developed in an industrial context. Both of these ideas are outside the historical experience of the aboriginal people of North America. This is not to say that American Indians in the past did not have an impact on their environment. Indeed they did. In fact, much of their practices would be considered land management by today's definitions (Kimmerer, 2000). In looking at how American Indians interacted with the land, White (1984) stated that the evidence of aboriginal influence is so overwhelming that it makes the word "wilderness", as defined as land having no human impact, meaningless for vast tracts of land on the continent at the point in time the Europeans first arrived.

The difference between the two cultures are the respective paradigms held by each in respect to the human relationship with the environment. Land managers from the dominant Anglo-American society have traditionally looked at human/land relationships as that of manager/resource. Historically, the dominant view of resource management has placed an overemphasis on commodity production and economic efficiency. This view of land management emphasizes the tangible aspects resources provide such as biological diversity, sustainable forestry, and ecologically sensitive silvicultural systems (Williams et al., 1992).

More recently, however, natural resource management organizations such as the National Research Council (NRC) have legitimized the intangible aspects afforded to people by the natural world. In a 1990 report, the NRC stated the importance of not only securing the economic resources of natural resources but also the environmental and spiritual values of them (National Research Council, 1990).

There are some generalities found in the land ethic of most American Indian cultures (Jostad, McAvoy, and McDonald, 1996). In their literature review on the state of research on American Indians and leisure, McDonald and McAvoy (1997) listed five common values held by American Indian groups. The first and one of the most frequently held values associated with an American Indian land ethic is the pervasive belief in the sacredness of life. The spiritual aspect of both the individual and the community is infused with a mythic nature. For many native people, decisions are based on an ethic derived from sacred traditions. This focus on the spiritual is also often manifested in the management of

tribal lands, an approach some have termed "spiritual management" (Deloria, 1992; Tyler, 1993).

The second value, which is closely related to the first, is the belief that there is a clear, reciprocal and interdependent relationship with all of creation and that humans are inseparable from nature. Following the first value in that all is sacred and infused with spirit, there is a much more symbiotic paradigm of the human relationship to nature. This is often in direct conflict with the traditional dominant Anglo-American view of stewardship which implies that people need to "manage" natural environments.

Coming out of this second view is the third belief shared by many native people. In maintaining an interdependent relationship with all other living things and the land, importance is placed on the creation of harmony and balance. There is an underlying respect for others inherent in this belief. This respect constitutes an adherence to an ethic of non-interference with the natural world. Interfering behavior on the part of native people, from well intentioned manipulation to egregious meddling, is outside the realm of appropriate behavior.

The fourth view listed by McDonald and McAvoy is the basis for this study. That is the general view held by American Indians that a heightened sense of place or connection to the land is the result of the importance placed on the human/nature relationship and a long historical tie to the land. Examples of this American Indian worldview are numerous in cultural and oral traditions which have less often been recorded in the written form.

Dasmann (1982) describes cultures having more intimate relationships with the lands they live on or adjacent to as "ecosystem people". He contrasts these cultures to ones who draw support from ecosystems outside those they are directly involved with. He refers to these cultures as "biosphere people". In following Dasmann's description, it would be necessary to conclude that ecosystem people must take more care in maintaining the natural integrity of their environments because they are so intertwined with the ecosystem. Careless or exploitive environmental practices would quickly lead to the demise of their existence. Biosphere people, in contrast, run a higher risk of depleting resources at dangerous rates on two levels. First, they do not have an intimate enough connection to their immediate ecosystem to fully understand the consequences of their actions in over-utilizing limited resources. And second, when they look to ecosystems outside their own to harvest resources, their direct affects on those ecosystems are not immediate to the places they live. They then begin to adversely affect the ecosystems of the people who live where the resources are being taken.

Another identified characteristic of American Indian value systems concerning nature is the belief in the cyclical pattern of life. This belief is exemplified through rituals

and traditions in the form of offerings, or giving back, to the natural world that which was taken from it. American Indian cultures don't often give attention or high value to individual ownership of material possessions. However, individuals and families may have exclusive rights to dances, ceremonies, and other non-material things, as well as to traditional territories (McDonald and McAvoy, 1997).

The last common value to American Indians is the importance placed on the oral tradition and spoken word. This makes it difficult to discern sense of place and land ethics through written records alone. Thought and reflection is often expected before verbal commitments are made. More often than not, sacred tradition is passed from one generation to the next orally. This is contrasted sharply to the Western/Christian tradition of using the written word as a vehicle to convey sacredness.

Williams and Kaltenborn (in press) examined the connections the people have with places with a "thick" or "thin" dichotomy developed from the work of Sack (1997). A thick connection to a place would represent a deep, personal attachment to the terrain developed by long-term and intense experiences. A thin connection would be a superficial one based on shorter term, less intensive experiences. Many American Indians, because of long-standing occupation, would have a "thick" sense of place concerning their ancestral lands. Stokowski (1996) argues that sense of place must also be constructed to reflect relationships with surrounding historic, cultural and natural landscapes: and, place meanings are formed by the sentiments expressed by others. Any study of American Indian understanding of place would also have to take into account the reality that its construction has been influenced by the historical relationship with agents of the dominant society (as in governmental land management agencies like the Forest Service, Park Service, other federal agencies, and state/provincial land management agencies).

Contested Terrain

Contested terrain is a term used to describe the controversy between a dominant society's sense of place and the competing views of minority people's sense of place (Said, 1993; Pulido, 1996). Said (1993) states that different cultures may construct different realities even though they may inhabit overlapping territories and have intertwined histories. Social scientists working with land management agencies are likely to refer to the history of the terrain and the people who live there from the perspective of the government in the dominant society. There are, however, histories of the same place recorded by minorities which continue to influence the behaviors of the people on the land.

The differing views held by American Indians and Anglo-Americans are often the basis for what have been labeled contested terrain debates. These debates often go beyond what Williams and Patterson (1996) refer to as stimulus-based and intra-personal explanations of behavior and move toward the sociocultural explanations described above. Differing ideas of how to use fish resources can be used as examples. From a sociocultural point of view, the same fisheries can symbolize ancestral ways of life which derive certain spiritual and religious meanings to one group as well as food and an economic base. Conversely, those fisheries can symbolize valued commodities and essential livelihood to a competing group. Conflicts arise when groups who do not share the same norms and values about resources have a vested interest in those resources. Conflict may result regardless of the groups' proximity to one another, or even if there is no contact between them (Vaske, Donnelly, Wittman & Laidlaw, 1995).

Pulido (1996) studied land use conflicts in north-central New Mexico. She postulates that contested terrain issues are another way in which to view inequality among races. According to Pulido, investigating natural resource use illuminates the systematic way in which environmental relations are structured by various forms of power held by the respective groups involved in the debate. She adds, however, that even though the political power held by each group may be disparaging, the environmental values of the subaltern group (the minority) may be frequently adopted by the group retaining most of the power. This new form of environmentalism, writes Pulido, falls under numerous headings. Grassroots, popular, livelihood, resistance, environmental justice, and resource struggles have all been used to label these debates. The problem with this phenomenon, she concludes, is that even though the subaltern group's views are often recognized and even celebrated through avenues such as local architecture, arts, restaurants, and museums, the group's life can still be a constant struggle because they hold relatively little power.

There are studies which have identified a similarity between American Indians and Anglo-Americans in the general philosophy regarding the need to preserve protected lands, but they then have virtual opposite views in the purposes of designating these lands (Sadler, 1989; Rudner, 1994; McDonald and McAvoy, 1997; Redmond, 1997). The similarity is that both groups value, on a basic level, retaining and protecting pristine ecosystems, wilderness, and unique natural areas. The crux of the issue is that Anglo-Americans often see the value in protected lands as being places separate from human existence where people can go for a short amount of time to recreate, introspect, and fulfill spiritual needs and then return to an industrial or "modern" way of life. American Indians often see protected lands as places where they can fulfill their way of life as a part of the land on a level of co-existence which is not separate from these areas.

McDonald and McAvoy (1997) explain the contested terrain phenomenon described by Pulido in the context of parks and protected lands. As an example, they cite anthropological studies which define many American Indians' resistance to visit Yellowstone National Park. The park's designation by Anglo-Americans as a "sacred site" was consistent with American Indian ideals of sacredness. However, in the local American Indian culture, visitation in the park by "non-medicine people," and discussion of the area with outsiders, was taboo. Once Yellowstone became such a popular destination for non-native people, local American Indians experienced a lower desire to go there. Chase (1986) suggests another reason for low American Indian visitation in the park when he equates the creation of the park to the destruction of the livelihood of the resident native people.

In the case of many other national parks in both the United States and Canada, the native peoples were forcibly removed from the land, displaced in the process of making these areas national parks. Keller and Turek, in their book American Indians & National Parks (1998), indicate that park/Indian relations usually fall into four historical phases: "1) unilateral appropriation of recreational land by the government; 2) an end to land-taking, but a continued federal neglect of tribal needs, cultures, and treaties; 3) Indian resistance, leading to aggressive pursuit of tribal interests; and, 4) a new NPS commitment to cross-cultural integrity and cooperation" (p. 233). Examples of strong-arm techniques to acquire park lands from native peoples include Mesa Verde and Glacier National Parks. The implication of this is that the whole context of the relationship regarding these lands is one based on conflict right from the start, and it is unrealistic to believe that American Indians do not remember this continuing context of conflict (Stoffle, Halmo & Austin, 1998). Even though early park officials abandoned some of the strong arm techniques in the establishment of parks, they still continued to demonstrate little concern for native rights in their desire to acquire as much park land as possible (Keller & Turek, 1998).

In another context regarding contested terrain, Slater (1993) contrasted native and visitor viewpoints of landscapes in Ireland by constructing ways in which they gaze upon landscapes. The visitor, according to Slater, looks upon the landscape with a picturesque gaze. This gaze is rooted in romanticism and emphasizes solitude and a semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze. It is similar to what Williams and Patterson (1996) define as individual/ expressive sense of place meaning in that it holds pristine natural landscapes in the highest regard. It is often the gaze of the urban tourist searching for the beautiful, sublime, and pure in nature (Slater, 1993). Slater's other way of constructing landscapes is called the oral interpretation of the landscape. This collective or native gaze is developed in indigenous people over generations of living and working in a landscape.

Williams & Patterson (1996) refer to this same construct as cultural/ symbolic sense of place meaning. Whereas the picturesque gaze may create a sense of detachment from the landscape, the oral interpretation or native gaze creates a sense of attachment to the local terrain (Slater, 1993). This construct is further reinforced by McDonald and McAvoy (1997). One of their conclusions was that of the American Indian traditional reliance on the oral tradition. The significant features of the native gaze can only be seen through the narration of the cultural and spiritual history of a place.

Social values conflicts over land use are often an intrinsic part of the decision making process (Vaske et al., 1995). Value and meaning-based conflict is often more difficult to pinpoint and address than conflict concerning resource allocation and utilization. In order to help pinpoint some of the issues involved in social values conflict, Vaske et. al., (1995) offer two sources from which these types of conflict are rooted. The first source stems from a tolerance, or lack thereof, of lifestyle diversity. This is a prejudice based factor which happens when people maintaining a certain lifestyle relating to a resource shun or reject a lifestyle which relates to the resource in a different way. These differences can be manifested in the physical ways people partake in activities (e.g. using spears or gill nets for harvesting fish instead of hook and line), or in the sociocultural traditions groups relate to environments (e.g. sustaining cultural autonomy, pride, and heritage through traditional whale hunting; or communing with whales through observing them in their natural environment).

As Kaltenborn (1997) suggested, interaction between two opposing groups is not necessary for this type of conflict to arise. Lifestyle intolerance of other groups may be derived from how an activity is stereotyped. This may be independent of the circumstances surrounding any single activity (Vaske, et al., 1995). As an example, non-whaling cultures who perceive whaling as an egregious slaughter of majestic creatures may harbor negative stereotypes about the activity. This may lead them to engage in conflict behavior to stop it without fully understanding the complexities of the issue and its relevance to the whaling culture.

The other source from which social values conflicts can stem is referred to as resource specificity (Vaske et. al., 1995). This relates to the importance individuals or groups attach to utilizing a specific resource. Salmon, for example, have long represented specific cultural and ceremonial aspects in lives of native peoples living on the Northwest coast of North America. Salmon have also been a mainstay of tribal diets and economies. In fact, some tribal groups living in the Pacific Northwest refer to themselves as "salmon people" (Wray, 1997). Salmon, when harvested by nonnative people, is generally seen from an economic standpoint lacking the cultural significance given to it by many native

people. If the resource is put in a state of peril or managed in ways undesirable to native people it does not only compromise their livelihood but may also be an affront to their very culture, identity, and history. Thus, conflict surrounding the management of salmon may result.

Contested terrain debates are becoming more fully understood by researchers focusing on such problems. The diverse attitudes and beliefs involved in the debates add to the complexity of the issue as researchers look more deeply into sense of place and meaning that different groups attach to places. Based on the literature reviewed for this study, it is necessary to look at the circumstances of each debate and identify exactly what reasons different sides have for entering the debate. Reasons may include economic interest, personal importance, and/or cultural significance. Once these reasons are identified it may become possible to discern from where the debate stems and whether it is based on an intolerance for diversity and/or actual differences in how opposing groups think a natural resource should be allocated and managed.

Cultures may construct quite different realities even though they may inhabit overlapping territories and have intertwined histories. One vital history in the contested terrain debate is that of American Indian peoples who were often removed from the lands that subsequently became parks, national forests and other protected areas. There is a need for a deeper understanding of the cultural attachment American Indians often have with such lands, and their history of relating to the lands and the land management agencies.

Methods

The study is set in five Nuuchah-nulth communities in Clayoquot Sound in British Columbia on the west coast of Canada's Vancouver Island; and amongst the Makah community on the northwest tip of the Olympic Peninsula of Washington in the United States. These tribes are representative of the Nootkan cultural complex and the Wakashan language family. The Makah are the only American Indian tribe in the United States which is part of Nootkan (Nuuchah-nulth) culture (Renker & Pascua, 1989). The Makah are historically and culturally closely related to the Nuuchah-nulth of Vancouver Island (Wray, 1997). The archaeologist Alan McMillan indicates the Makah of the Olympic Peninsula are close relatives of the Nuuchah-nulth of Vancouver Island (McMillan, 1999). Oral history speaks of the Makah originating from a branch of the Nuuchah-nulth who migrated from southern Nuuchah-nulth territory on Vancouver Island across the Strait of Juan De Fuca to present day Neah Bay, Washington. They share a whaling and sealing culture. Both nations characterize themselves in much the same manner. The Makah represented

themselves in a public forum in Forks, Washington by saying, "We are whalers, it is how we are defined between all American tribes" (Provo, date unknown). Edgar Charlie (2000 interview) Kelthmaht hereditary chief of the Nuu-chah-nulth Nation clearly says, "Our people were renowned for whaling, the (Kelsemaht) people, my dad always said they were the wealthiest people because of the whaling activities they had." Both communities continue to invite chiefs and other community people to each other's winter feasts, commonly referred to as "potlatches". The bulk of the non-Makah invitees to the recent feast celebrating a whale capture were from the Nuu-chah-nulth communities of Vancouver Island (Ha-Shilth-Sa, 2000).

Both communities are adjacent to large tracts of publicly owned land that are extensively used for outdoor recreation and resource extraction. The Nuu-chah-nulth communities have Pacific Rim National Park, Clayoquot Sound Biosphere Reserve, multiple provincial parks, and significant timber licenses on public lands, all contained within their traditional land base. The Neah Bay, Washington Nuu-chah-nulth (the Makah) community has sections of both Olympic National Forest and Olympic National Park within its traditional land base. The Nuu-chah-nulth people's perspective of sense of place regarding lands on Vancouver Island and the Olympic Peninsula is the focus of the study. Interpreting data and producing research which takes the American Indian viewpoint into account is an important ethic in examining issues involving American Indians. It can shed light on American Indian history and how and why American Indians have participated in the American and Canadian experience (Mihesuah, 1998).

A purposive examination of a particular group experiencing a particular phenomenon in a particular area was used in this study rather than a random sampling of native peoples in various areas. American Indians/First Nations are in reality a collection of diverse cultures which are seemingly more related than they actually are. However, being careful not to over generalize, some common values can be identified in nearly all North American aboriginal cultures to a lesser or greater degree (McDonald and McAvoy, 1996). It is expected that due to the proximity of the Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth groups to one another, and their historical and cultural similarities, that the results from each locale and group will complement each other.

After a study design and literature review phase, the study focused on an examination of the historical relationship between the Nuu-chah-nulth and Makah peoples of each community and the management agencies of the now publicly owned lands surrounding them. This included archival and contemporary literature research, to examine the written documentation of this relationship; and, in the case of the Nuu-chah-nulth communities, interviews with adult community members (including some elders) to

ascertain the emotional, symbolic and spiritual meanings of these places. Further, the study was planned to examine how these meanings have influenced lifestyles, environment, perceived quality of life and relationships with the government agencies managing these places. Interviews followed the hermeneutic process as best suited to examine the relationship between perceived setting characteristics and land based experiences.

Archival records in this study included: tribal documents; tribal and public hearings; records of state/provincial/federal agencies which have been, or are presently, involved with American Indians/First Nations; Indian Claims Commissions; court litigation, records of protests; and legislative sessions. These archival records, in combination with the interviews and secondary literature, provide the data to examine how sense of place has entered into the contested terrain issue surrounding the Nuu-chah-nulth people of both countries.

Archival records were compiled in two phases. The Makah phase of the archival research was conducted between August, 1998 and February, 2001. Tribal documents were researched in tribal archives at the Makah Cultural and Research Center on the Makah Reservation located in Neah Bay, Washington. These documents included legal transcripts of tribal legal representation, anthropological research, and records of the Indian Claims Commission, which the tribe now manages. Other legal, legislative and policy documents were located using research indices. These documents are housed in the National Archives and Records Administration office in Seattle, Federal District Courts of Seattle, and U.S. Document collections of various university libraries. Due to the fact that legislative history investigation is common practice in research (Simpson & McAvoy, 1994), these non-tribal sources were accessible. However, approval from the Makah Tribal Council was required for access to tribal archives. Data was also collected from contemporary literature and media sources. Many contested terrain debates are documented by the media. Media sources included statements, letters, and interviews in which Makah tribal members stated their views regarding resource issues. Media sources sought in this study included electronic and print media such as newspaper articles, television reports, and the internet.

The Canadian Nuu-chah-nulth phase of the archival research was conducted between January, 1999 and May, 2000. Primarily records were obtained at the British Columbia Provincial Archives located in Victoria, B.C. Documents included proceedings of Indian Claims Commissions; Colonial correspondence prior to confederation with Canada; record of the Department of Indian Affairs (which included both Indian agent reports and correspondence); personal journals of Indian agents in

Nuu-chah-nulth territory; records and personal correspondence of Anglican, Catholic and United Church clergy posted to Nuu-chah-nulth missions; field notes of anthropologists working in Nuu-chah-nulth territory as early as 1888; and isolated individual records from varied sources including business people, traders, and various government officials.

Interviews with 8 selected Canadian Nuu-chah-nulth tribal members were conducted from late August, 2000 to early January 2001. These tribal members included 3 hereditary chiefs of the Toquaht, Ahousaht and Kelthmaht First Nations; 3 elders from the same three Nations; and 2 women from the Ahousaht First Nation. The interviews were tape recorded and transcribed for analysis, and varied in length from 1 to 6 hours. Interviews were conducted by two Nuu-chah-nulth college students of the First Nations Studies Department of Malaspina University College, Nanaimo, B.C. under the direction of Dan McDonald. Interviews in most cases were conducted in the homes of these people, except for one chief's interview conducted at Tin Wis, the meeting center for the Tla-o-qaht Nation. These people interviewed were selected due to their recognized knowledge of historical and contemporary land issues in their communities, and in the case of the chiefs because of their responsibility as owners of these traditional territories.

Due to political controversy and conditions which developed on the Makah Reservation during the time of this study, the interview portions of the research focused only on the Nuu-chah-nulth of British Columbia's Vancouver Island. The political controversy arose as the Makah people exercised their treaty rights regarding whaling. This generated protests from anti-whaling interests, and a great deal of attention from the international media. The political situation that developed on the reservation made it impossible for these researchers to have access to tribal members for interviews. A portion of the work on this project was sub-contracted with the Department of First Nation Studies, Malaspina University-College in Nanaimo, British Columbia. Under the direction of Dan McDonald, the Chair of that department, Nuu-chah-nulth students were involved in the data collection and analysis phases of both the archive research and the interviews conducted in this project.

Data from both the archival research and interviews were compiled, read and initially categorized as illustrative of either the contested terrain debate concerning each land area, or tribal members' sense of place or relationship to the land. The sense of place material was then further categorized according to Williams and Patterson's typology of sense of place. This typology identifies three categories of sense of place: instrumental/goal directed, individual/expressive, and cultural/symbolic attachments to place. Some of the central concepts of sense of place included, but were not limited to, spiritual, religious,

social, economic and cultural contexts in which people described a space into a place and reflections on relationships people have with surrounding historic and natural landscapes. Some relevant data did not fit easily into the Williams and Patterson typology. This data was still identified as clearly related to tribal member's sense of place within the context of historical relations with land management agencies and governments.

The final stage of the analysis was to summarize each category of sense of place into one or more statements for both the Nuu-chah-nulth and the Makah regarding their sense of place for the lands they live on and adjacent to. This was to better understand the place importance and the depth of issues and debates concerning public spaces that have historically been homelands for tribal peoples. From these statements and summaries, a set of recommendations was developed to assist natural resource managers in implementing land and natural resource policy. It is hoped that these recommendations could alleviate some of the problems which contribute to contested terrain debates involving government agencies and indigenous peoples, peoples who have been historically displaced or alienated from a portion, or all, of their traditional homeland.

Results and Discussion

The results and discussion portion of this report has a number of topic sections. These include: 1) a presentation of the similarities and differences of the Makah and Nuuchah-nulth; 2) historical context of contested terrain in the case of the Makah; 3) historical context of contested terrain in the case of the Nuuchah-nulth; 4) land and place in the view of the Makah; 5) land and place in the view of the Nuuchah-nulth; and, 6) interpretation and discussion.

Similarities and Differences: Makah and Nuuchah-nulth

There are many similarities between the Makah and the Nuuchah-nulth, but there are some contextual differences between them that influence their relationships to the lands that are in and around their communities. The similarities were noted above. One of the differences involves whether tribal members continue to live on their original home-lands. Most of the 1200 Makah continue to live in Neah Bay on their traditional territories. Unlike many other reservations in the United States, most of the people on the Makah reservation are all Makah in background, rather than members of various consolidated tribes. This has resulted in "an intense attachment to land and sea--the Strait, Cape Flattery, Neah Bay, Ozette, and Makah Bay" (Keller & Turek, 1998, p. 107). The majority of the Nuuchah-nulth of the Clayoquot Sound area in British Columbia in contrast live outside their traditional territory in urban centers throughout the Pacific Northwest. Even though a majority of the Nuuchah-nulth people live away from their traditional territories, their families can still easily recount family histories and relationships to specific places on their traditional territories, as illustrated in a 1996 quote from tribal elder Murry John, cited in Smith (1998):

"{The Atleo River} belongs to Dr. Atleo, his family. They bathed there. They got things they need from the forest from there. That was their territory to look after, the Atleo family, that was their river. Still {is}...my dad used to talk about it, he was friends with the chief, they sit there for days before they go out whaling. Soak in the river, pray in the river, pray in the mountains, in the valley up there."

In the case of the Canadian Nuuchah-nulth, they have lived in the Clayoquot Sound area at many of the present village sites from time immemorial. However, they share with other British Columbia First Nations the situation where no historic treaties were

negotiated or signed. When the governor of the then colony British Columbia, James Douglas, requested from the Canadian government that he be able to negotiate treaties with the various nations within British Columbia, he was only allowed to negotiate 14 treaties with small nations on the south of Vancouver Island, not including the Nuu-chah-nulth.

First Nations in British Columbia were subsequently removed from their land and placed on reservations without the provisions of treaty. For most of British Columbia's history the provincial and federal governments assumed ownership of unoccupied crown land and acted upon that assumption to manage it for the benefit of their constituencies. This assumption has since been eroded by a number of Canadian Supreme court decisions (*Calder v. Regina*, 1969 through *Delgamuukw v. Regina*, 1997) which place in question the legitimacy of government ownership of these lands without the negotiation of treaty with British Columbia First Nations resident at the time of contact. These court decisions have forced the federal and provincial governments to enter into modern day treaty negotiations. This has heightened the whole contested terrain issue as First Nations like the Nuu-chah-nulth become entitled to a portion of crown lands and compensation for past economic benefits accrued from their lands. In some cases crown lands will be turned back to their original owners (First Nations). In other cases the provincial or federal governments will become joint managers of lands with First Nations people.

The absence of treaty for the Nuu-chah-nulth meant that reserves once allotted were small in comparison to the reservations where treaties existed. Rather than a large tract of land established into a reservation, the Nuu-chah-nulth reserves were scattered small parcels of land surrounding seasonal village sites, as small in some cases as a few acres. Initially the past system instituted by the Department of Indian Affairs kept small communities on these parcels. Later relaxation of government control, and the need to seek economic opportunity, led to the abandonment of many village sites and the amalgamation of communities into one reserve, albeit still small. Many Nuu-chah-nulth left these small reserves altogether to live in urban centers. In some cases these abandoned parcels remain under tribal control, in other cases they were appropriated by the government for inclusion in crown lands for use as parks, timber licenses, etc.

The British Columbia Nuu-chah-nulth are subdivided into a number of bands, each with a traditional territory. The bands included in this study included: Kelthmaht, Ohiat, Ahousaht, Tsessaht, Toquaht, and Ehattesaht.

In the case of the Makah, they have been established at the Cape Flattery/Neah Bay location for hundreds of years. In 1855 they signed the Treaty of Neah Bay with the government of the United States. This treaty established the Makah reservation on a 27,000 acre tract of their traditional lands. The treaty guarantees the Makah the right of taking fish

and of whaling or sealing at usual and accustomed grounds in the Pacific Ocean, and in Washington rivers flowing into it. The treaty also ceded lands to the United States government for settlement and economic development. The treaty structures the relationship between the tribe and the government. Subsequent court cases upholding the Treaty of Neah Bay have given further structure and guidance in the relationship between the tribe and the government in issues involving lands and natural resources.

Historical Context: Contested Terrain in The Case of the Makah

The Makah tribe is currently embroiled in an international controversy over their continued plans to resume whale hunting. The right of whaling was given to the Makah tribe in the Treaty of Neah Bay in 1855 and has been supported by the U.S. government and the International Whaling Commission. The debate around whaling brings into focus the conceptual elements of this study. The following section of this report describes the historical development of sense of place and the contested terrain issues with the Makah people, their ancestral lands and resources, and their relationships with some of the federal land management agencies associated with the Olympic Peninsula. Most of the documents which were located in this study pertained to two contested terrain debates in which the Makah have been centrally involved. These were the 1974 court case involving Northwest Native American fishing rights, known commonly as the "Boldt Decision"; and the current debate over the Makah tribe's gray whale hunt. Additional sources containing relevant data included transcripts of the signing of the Treaty of Neah Bay in 1855; U.S. Senate hearings on the return of Tatoosh Island to the Makah tribe's reservation land; reports on the usual and accustomed hunting, fishing, and gathering grounds of the Makah tribe; and, written history on the creation of Olympic National Park and the subsequent debate over adding the Ozette and Shi-Shi Beach areas to the park.

The Makah tribe is no different than most other American Indian tribes in that it has been involved in contested terrain debates with the United States government from the time it signed its first treaty, the Treaty of Neah Bay in 1855. There are, however, differences in the types of resources to which the Makah retained rights in their treaty. The Makah are a unique tribe native to the United States in that they, more than any other tribe, subsisted largely from resources gathered from the ocean. The Makah were extremely knowledgeable in harvesting resources from the ocean (Wray, 1997). Halibut was perhaps the most abundant of the resources gathered by Makah fisherman, and those who fished for halibut held prominent positions in the tribal hierarchy. The Makah were such prolific halibut fishermen that the tribe held property rights, recognized by other tribes, to the Swiftsure

and Forty Mile Banks off the coast of now Washington state (Wray, 1997). The Treaty of Neah Bay guarantees the Makah the right of taking fish and of whaling or sealing at usual and accustomed grounds in the Pacific Ocean and in Washington rivers flowing into it (Treaty of Neah Bay, 1855).

Sealing was another traditional way of life for the Makah and held strong spiritual power for those who hunted. The northern fur seal provided the Makah with bones for tools and spearheads, meat for food, and skins used as floats for whale and seal hunting. Fur seal bones made up nearly 80 percent of the animal remains discovered at archeological sites such as Ozette, a Makah village south of Cape Flattery on the Pacific coast (Kirk, 1986). By the late 1800's, however, Makah sealing practices began to change under the pressures of the demand for fur seal by white commercial sealers. From the 1880's to almost the middle 1900's both white and Makah owned sealing schooners would take Makah sealers as far south as California and as far north as Alaska and Russia in the Bering Sea to harvest fur seals for the lucrative trade (Kirk, 1986). It is interesting to note here that even though Makah sealers were now traveling much of the Pacific Rim to hunt seals, they still maintained many of their cultural traditions both on land and at sea when hunting seals. Makah sealers continued to use spears as a preferred way to kill seals because of their superiority as a hunting device and link to traditional methods (Kirk, 1986).

The Makah are perhaps best known for their knowledge and prowess in whaling. Ruth Kirk, a noted anthropologist who looked at several tribes in the Pacific Northwest writes: "Perhaps no activity matches whale hunting as an example of native ability to draw on all aspects of the environment..." (1986, p. 133).

Makah whalers held the most prominent positions in tribal culture (Kirk, 1986, Wray, 1997, Reaveley, 1998). The most respected role a whaler could have was that of the harpooner. Throwing the harpoon into the whale was the duty of a Makah chief or noble (Kirk, 1986). Whaling required the most devout traditional process for spiritual acquisition and took years of preparation (Wray, 1997). Wives of the whalers helped from shore by adhering to tribal rituals before and during the hunt. It was believed if they broke away from any of the whaling rituals the male whalers would be unsuccessful and come home empty handed (Kirk, 1986). Secrecy was maintained in all aspects of the hunt right up to the fanfare of landing a whale on shore where the crew was met by tribal members for a communal butcher and subsequent feast (Kirk, 1986). Humpback whales were the preferred take because they produced more oil than other species, could be seen almost any month of the year, and were less ferocious when harpooned than other whales (Kirk, 1986). But as commercial whaling began to decimate the Humpback population, Makah whalers were forced to rely more heavily on Gray whales for subsistence.

The most publicized contested terrain debates recently involving the Makah have centered around fishing rights and whaling. In August of 1973, fourteen Northwest tribes including the Makah sued the state of Washington over fishing rights granted to them in treaties (Cohen, 1986). Judge George H. Boldt presided over the case and handed down a decision in favor of the tribes. The Makah, as well as many other tribes, had been asserting their rights by fishing in defiance of Washington state officials. Surreptitious salmon fishing by the Makah had been taking place on the Hoko River (the eastern border of their reservation) since the 1920's and 1930's (Cohen, 1986). They had also been fishing illegally, according to Washington state officials, off the coast near their reservation.

The Makah are situated in a unique location in that salmon, returning from the ocean, pass through traditional tribal fishing grounds at the entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca to migrate up rivers in the Puget Sound to spawn. The Makah have traditionally fished both on the ocean and in rivers (Wray, 1997). Makah fisherman claimed they had the right to take fish from the places they, and their ancestors, had fished for centuries. The right had been granted to them by the United States government in the 1855 Treaty of Neah Bay. However, Washington fish and game officials, charged with upholding state statutes, held Makah fisherman accountable to state laws and forced them to abide by limits, gear requirements, and season dates. Furthermore, many commercial and recreational fisherman held that the Makah, as well as other tribes, were engaged in unfair fishing practices which detracted from their fair take of the fish harvest (Cohen, 1986). The Boldt decision was a turning point for Northwest tribes in recognizing the original treaties they had signed in the 1800's. It essentially gave tribes the right to half of the fish harvested in the coastal waters, rivers, and Puget Sound in the state of Washington (Cohen, 1986).

Currently, the Makah tribe is embroiled in a heated controversy over whaling (Sullivan, 2000). Makah whalers voluntarily put down their harpoons in the 1920's when whale populations hit dangerous lows due to international commercial whaling practices. In 1846 the Gray whale calving grounds were discovered off the coast of Baja in Mexico, and intensive slaughter of these whales by whites commenced. By 1874, over 10,800 whales had been slaughtered by commercial whalers (Reaveley, 1998). Furthermore, the collection of material cultural resources by museums removed important knowledge and associated means of production which further disrupted native modes of whaling life (Reaveley, 1998).

Recent decades have seen a resurgence of native peoples recapturing their cultural traditions and asserting their rights to use natural resources in traditional ways. A major way the Makah tribe has done this is by proposing to conduct a traditional hunt for Gray whales. The Gray whale was taken off the endangered species list in 1994 after its

population was determined to have reached historic levels and to have sustained growth. When this happened, the Makah tribe decided to pick up their harpoons after seventy years and reclaim a central part of their heritage (Sullivan, 2000).

Upon establishment of the Makah Whaling Commission, the tribe was immediately met by opposition from environmental and conservation groups, government officials, and even members of their own tribe. Support was given by the Clinton/Gore administration by successfully lobbying, with the Makah tribe, the International Whaling Commission to allow the tribe to take up to twenty whales over five years for cultural and subsistence purposes. Permission to resume whale hunting was given to the tribe by the International Whaling Commission on October 23, 1997 (Reaveley, 1998). The significance of this ruling serves to fulfill two important needs of the Makah tribe. It allows them to reclaim an aspect of subsistence which was once central to their lives, as well as strengthen their cultural lives by recovering the foundation on which their culture was once based (Reaveley, 1998). As of the writing of this report, the Makah have harvested one whale.

The Makah whale hunting controversy is a contested terrain debate with international implications. Beyond the involvement of local, state, and federal agencies and environmental protesters, the countries of Japan, Norway, and Iceland are closely monitoring the issue with the possibility of returning to their whaling practices under a cultural rationale (Tizon, 1998). This could result in the lifting of the international moratorium on whaling. The relevance to this study is the implications the Makah hunt may have for other whaling tribes in the Pacific Northwest. Other Nootkan tribes such as the Ahousaht and the Ohiat of the west coast of Vancouver Island have stated that they intend to resume a whaling lifestyle. Whaling for the Nootkan tribes has come to represent a way of life that they controlled and a means of which they can determine the future of their own culture by revitalizing traditional practices (Reaveley, 1998, Sullivan, 2000).

A highly publicized land issue involving the Makah tribe was the discovery of the Ozette village archeological site in the 1970's. Ozette had always been recognized as a traditional village of the Makah and tribal members maintained residences there until the 1930's (Wray, 1997). When the Makah population in the area had mostly relocated to Neah Bay, the state of Washington sought to establish a fish hatchery at Ozette. After gaining support from the National Park Service and agreeing to manage Ozette Lake and the coastal areas adjacent to it consistently with N.P.S. policy, the Ozette reservation land was put in trust for the Makah tribe. When a massive landslide revealed an ancient Makah village on the coast at Ozette, National Park Service officials and university archeologists worked with Makah tribal members to interpret the various tools, shelters, and arrangements of the dig. The resulting information contributed greatly to the understanding of traditional Makah

ways of life and led to the establishment of the Makah Cultural and Research Center in Neah Bay.

The Makah and National Park Service have cooperated for years regarding Olympic National Park, especially regarding additions to the park (Keller & Turek, 1998). There has been controversy concerning the Ozette area and its proposed addition to the park. But most of the controversy was between the tribe and environmental organizations who were pushing for the Park Service to acquire the Ozette area and make it a wilderness area. The tribe and the National Park Service worked together to defeat this proposal in some heated political battles in the 1970's and 1980's. This cooperation continues with the addition of the Shi-Shi Beach area to the park. It also continues with their cooperation to provide access to park beach areas, but still maintain tribal control of adjacent areas.

Other land-based resources the Makah have traditionally depended upon are cedar trees, cranberry bogs, berry patches, elk, deer, and other forest animals. Along with fishing and tourism, logging brings in substantial revenue for the tribe. These resources, however, are all held by the tribe on the reservation and, with little exception, have not evidently been at the center of any contested terrain debates. The two exceptions are elk hunting and protection of salmon streams which run through the Makah reservation.

In 1983, two members of the Quinault tribe were charged with killing elk within the boundary of Olympic National Park. The ensuing court case addressed the right of tribal members to hunt within the park as granted to them by the Treaty of Olympia 1855-1856. The presiding judge in the case dismissed the charges stating that treaty rights gave tribal members the right to hunt in the park. Furthermore, the N.P.S. was responsible for preserving those rights as indicated in its enabling legislation. The Makah tribe became involved in this debate by co-authoring a response to the decision with the Quinault, Hoh, and Quileute tribes. The statement outlined the tribes' concerns over not being able to carry out hunting practices in places guaranteed by treaty. At the same time, the tribes expressed their willingness to work with park officials. After a response from the National Park Service to the tribes, Washington Representative Al Swift introduced legislation to overturn the decision upholding tribal rights, and the federal government filed a motion for a rehearing. The Second District court overturned the ruling stating that park land was not 'open and unclaimed' and that the treaty "privilege of hunting" is precluded within the park's boundaries. After being denied another rehearing, the defendants entered guilty pleas and were fined \$500.00 (Wray, 1997).

The elk hunting case spurred state officials to draft a hunting agreement with the tribes on the Olympic Peninsula. Even though a federal court had ruled against treaty rights, stating that National Park status superseded tribal rights, there were still U.S. Forest

Service, Bureau of Land Management, and Washington state lands open to interpretation under original treaties. The idea behind the agreement is to coordinate harvest reporting between the state and tribes, to improve management of resources, and to preempt any litigation which may stem from treaty hunting rights (Wray, 1997).

Contested terrain debates such as the whaling issue, the Boldt Case, Ozette and the elk hunting case described above outline the Makah tribe's position when representing itself as a part of broader ecosystem management issues involving other tribes. Continuing to be centrally involved in cases over treaty rights and fighting to uphold those rights indicate the importance of maintaining traditional ways of life to the Makah tribe. This is not to say that the Makah have indicated that they intend to return to the same existence of their ancestors. What the Makah, and other tribes, are doing is asserting their right of self-determination, and operating from the assumption that established treaties will be honored.

Historical Context: Contested Terrain in The Case of the Nuu-chah-nulth

The Nuu-chah-nulth of Vancouver Island have been involved in almost constant debate over their land and sea resources since the time of contact in the late 18th century. Early European seafarers were almost immediately in conflict with the Nuu-chah-nulth, based in part on their respective deeply held views of the land. The Europeans, though expressing wonderment at the sublime beauty they encountered along the Island's coast, were already expressing equal dismay at the "disorderly array" (Mozino, 1970, p.4). The desire to order nature and to make it productive in European terms was to become a central theme in future relations between the Nuu-chah-nulth and those who would seek to control their territories. The Europeans, and the Canadians that followed later, saw in the resources the potential for commercial gain in a worldwide system of exchange. This view contrasted sharply with the Nuu-chah-nulth ideal of sustainability, and economy based on reciprocal relationship with other nations. In order to accomplish their goals, the Europeans saw only one solution. As James Cook put it, "to take possession [of lands] in the Name of the King of England...[and] to distribute among the inhabitants such Things as will remain as Traces and Testimonies of your having been there" (Inglis and Haggerty, 2000).

From the point of contact, through trade and into colonization, the contested terrain debate has been conducted in many venues over many issues. For the first one hundred years, the debate was between equals in the trade relationship, with the British and others respecting the trade protocols established by Nuu-chah-nulth chiefs. Disease, brought by the Europeans, changed that balance of power. Many Nuu-chah-nulth died, with communities often reduced to approximately ten percent of their pre-contact population

(Hoover, 2000). The weakened First Nations could not stop their subsequent removal from the bulk of their territories and placement on reserves, but they could still clearly contest what was occurring on their lands.

In the mid to late 1800's, Nuu-chah-nulth people also continued to manage their land, beyond the reserves, shaping it and ensuring that its resources continued to nourish their communities. The colonial governments and their agents gave little acknowledgement to their efforts, perhaps because the management was carried out in a form unrecognizable in western terms (Smith, 1998).

Once Nuu-chah-nulth were placed on reserves, strict regulations were instituted to restrict their ability to manage their lands, even on the reserves themselves. Archival records show the nature of the contested terrain debate at that time. A 1908 letter from Alan Neill, West Coast Indian agent, to his superior, states "The Indians are not allowed to cut logs or firewood on their reserves for sale as I have lately had to tell them and they are feeling very sore about it." A repeated theme in the subsequent Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of B.C., dubbed the McKenna-McBride Commission, was this sense of aggravation by Nuu-chah-nulth people who could no longer harvest resources from their traditional places. In a long presentation by Jimmy Jim, chief of Tla-o-quiaht, he is clear in his complaint "We can not do that anymore. We cannot cut down the cedar trees so we can make canoes or can get the bark... We want to ask you to be allowed to do the same as the white men that are living here now".

This restriction on Nuu-chah-nulth land use was occurring at the same time as extensive harvesting was sanctioned for non-aboriginal people. In his interview, chief Edgar Charlie (2000), recounts observations passed down by his family, "there's nothing there, *mamuthni* [white people] came and cleaned it right out, no regard for anything... they only said okay [to traditional use] on the shoreline but above the shoreline they stripped all the mountains and everything." The British Columbia provincial government simply assumed ownership and jurisdiction over the Nuu-chah-nulth homeland. The Canadian government extended this provincial jurisdiction over lands, without ever signing a treaty, even though past practice in British North American colonies had been to negotiate treaty prior to settlement of the territory. What had been negotiated with the Makah in 1855 had been neglected just across the Strait of Juan de Fuca. In fact, in British Columbia the general governmental attitude toward First Nations people, once their lands had been confiscated and their resistance suppressed, has been characterized as one of neglect (Fisher, 1992).

As the Canadian government, through its reserve policy and the institution of the Indian Act, strengthened its control of Nuu-chah-nulth communities it also took further

action to restrict traditional governance activities. At the core of traditional governance and land management for the Nuu-chah-nulth was an institution called *Tloo-qwah-nah*, or Potlatch in the Chinook trading language used throughout the Pacific Northwest. In this feast setting, amidst songs and dances, the legal transactions of Nuu-chah-nulth people were conducted. The recognition of hereditary rights, the ownership of lands, and payment for goods and services obtained through chiefs all occurred in the feast house. The government of Canada banned the potlatch in 1884, making it illegal to host or attend a feast in First Nations communities (Bracken, 1997). Gilbert Sproat, Indian Commissioner at the time, relates the beliefs that underpinned government action at the time “The Potlach [sic] is the parent of numerous vices which eat out the heart of the people. It produces indigence, thriftlessness, and habits of roaming about which prevent home association and is inconsistent with all progress” (Bettanin, 1997).

This ban, not lifted until 1951, was designed to purposely destroy the governance and social systems of the Nuu-chah-nulth and others, so that what became known as “the Indian land question” in British Columbia could be laid to rest (Bettanin, 1997). Even though communities resisted for awhile, conducting governance feasts in secret, the ban almost succeeded. The effect on communities and on families is well illustrated by this introduction to *Potlatch*, “The author of this story attended and participated in the last *Tloo-qwah-nah* when he was a very young man. It was then unlawful to entertain a feast or a potlatch by decree of the Indian Act. Indeed his own kin was arrested for having staged such a *Tloo-qwah-nah*. It is then with trepidations that this ‘eye-witness’ account is given and it is because of this lingering fear that actual names have been omitted” (Clutesi, 1969, p.9). Only recently have potlatches, and the public recognition of traditional governance, once again become common on the west coast of Vancouver Island.

In more recent times, the contested terrain debate can be easily located in the documentation of several prominent events. The first is the 1973 creation of Pacific Rim National Park, which overlaps the southern portion of Clayoquot Sound. The second event is the Meares Island controversy, where environmentalists and Nuu-chah-nulth people participated in actions that eventually led to a moratorium on land uses decisions in Clayoquot Sound and the subsequent creation of the Clayoquot Sound Scientific Panel to guide future land use planning on crown land. The third, and final event, is the initiation of treaty negotiations beginning in 1995.

Pacific Rim National Park was created on Long Beach in 1973, amid the traditional territories of the Tla-o-quiaht, To-quaht, and Ucluelet Nuu-chah-nulth nations. In negotiations between British Columbia and Canada, crown land was transferred to federal ownership, and allowance was made for the acquisition of private holdings. Nuu-chah-

nulth people were not party to these negotiations, though discussions of the impact of the park on their communities did occur. In fact the Parks Canada did tell the Nuu-chah-nulth that the park would bring jobs to the area. Dearden and Berg (1993) found that although the Nuu-chah-nulth had significant interest in the park area that “they had little say in the designation, planning or management of the park.” And that “there are no plans for special consideration with them during the preparation of the park master plan” (p.211). This pattern has continued to this day, with the Nuu-chah-nulth complaining of a number of problems in their relation with park managers. In general, “the Nuu-chah-nulth assert that while park designation has resulted in increased local jobs...in most cases their people are not the recipients of these jobs. The Nuu-chah-nulth complain that instead, the large numbers of park visitors are having a negative impact on their traditional lands and reserves encompassed by the park” (p. 201). Recent efforts at co-management, and the hiring of an aboriginal relations officer by Parks Canada, have decreased the tone but the contested terrain debate continues in the context of treaty talks.

The second set of events concerned the future of an island in Tla-o-quiath territory, across from the resort town of Tofino. The Meares Island-Clayoquot Sound controversy began in 1979, with the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council producing a poster with children asking for the logging to stop on their island. Soon they were joined by an environmental group called the Friends of Clayoquot Sound (FOCS), and together they began to express concerns about logging practices in the Sound and to lobby for designation of Meares Island as a Park. By 1984, the Nuu-chah-nulth and FOCS had declared Meares Island a Tribal Park, begun to construct hiking trails and transport visitors over by boat (Langer, 1996). The Tribal Park sought “total preservation of Meares Island based on title and survival of our native way of life” (Notzke, 1994, p.249) and offered to share the resource with non-natives “provided you adhere to the laws of our forefathers, which was always there” (p.249).

After multiple court injunctions, attempts by logging companies to commence harvesting, international media covered protests and arrests, the provincial government finally agreed to a moratorium in Clayoquot Sound and to the establishment of a Scientific Panel to make recommendations on future land use. The Panel was to make land use recommendations, which would combine traditional Nuu-chah-nulth and scientific knowledge (Scientific Panel, 1995). The Nuu-chah-nulth appointed four representatives, both elders and chiefs, to sit on the 20 member panel. Their influence, amid this contested terrain debate, is reflected in the community statements they chose to support their ideas. In commenting on sacred areas, one informant states, “Sacred areas are pivotal to Nuu-chah-nulth culture. They are important to the well-being, survival and sustenance of the Nuu-

chah-nulth in the same way that any logging company may consider forests to be [to the company's survival]" (Scientific Panel, 1995, p. 21). Of the recommendations that were eventually produced, all 87 are framed within a concept of co-management of the territory and on the incorporation of traditional knowledge and resource management systems. Twenty-seven of the recommendations deal specifically with First Nations issues.

The final, and most recent, set of events concerns treaty negotiations. Modern day treaty making began for the Nuuchah-nulth in 1993, when the Federal and Provincial governments confirmed their intention to negotiate. Though treaties historically involved only the First Nation and the Canadian government, in a nation-to-nation arrangement, the Province was asked to participate since it now held tenure to crown lands in British Columbia. Negotiations began in 1995, and since then many statements have been made that reflect the Nuuchah-nulth perspective in this embodiment of contested terrain. What is actually contested at this point is ownership and jurisdiction.

In treaty documents the Nuuchah-nulth assert that they "have had a close and intimate connection to the land and waters of the West Coast of Vancouver Island. Nuuchah-nulth law has always said that this connection includes responsibility for the protection of the land and the waters and the resources of each" (Nuuchah-nulth Tribal Council (NTC), p. 17). They also clearly state that they "view the treaty process as a path towards meaningful change that will alter the way in which resources are managed" (NTC, p. 17). The Nuuchah-nulth are often critical of past Canadian and Provincial management of the resources on their territories, characterizing it as not heeding the warnings of their *Ha'wiih* (hereditary chiefs) concerning over-harvesting and habitat destruction. They also recount how they as a people were "selectively excluded from participating" in resource management (NTC). In the case of fishing they pointedly state that "the results proved devastating to many Nuuchah-nulth communities. In the traditional territory of the Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation, 27 people once held commercial fishing licenses. Today, no one does" (NTC, p.17).

Treaty talks continue. As of March, 2001 an agreement-in-principle is near completion and some interim co-management measures are in place. The terrain continues to be contested and the debate at times heated.

Contested terrain debates have been a continual feature of aboriginal-settler relations on Vancouver Island since contact. In part, as Shaw (1996) notes, these are a function of the understanding aboriginal people have of themselves, where their history, religion and national identity are inseparable from the land. Thus any attempt to separate an aboriginal people from their land, for settlement or land management purposes, is in fact seen as an

attempt to separate them from part of themselves and to in the end lose themselves. It is little wonder that government actions on the land are contested by the Nuu-chah-nulth.

The debate becomes even more contested, when the contested terrain of the debate is so often located within the context of the dominant society's institutions and values (Shaw, 1996). The Nuu-chah-nulth are forced to state their opposition to land management actions, and contest the desires of the dominant society, in its courts, through its press, and across its negotiating tables. It is a wonder that their message is so consistent, given the Western context in which it has been presented over the past one hundred years. The debate and the message they have carried in that debate have shaped, and continue to shape, how the Nuu-chah-nulth relate to their lands. Their history since contact does matter to them, as it is inseparable from the land that defines them.

Land and Place in the View of the Makah

This section of the report presents data on Makah sense of place. Data were reviewed by searching for excerpts spoken or written by Makah tribal members which conveyed concepts related to sense of place as outlined in the literature. Any statements which spoke to the spiritual, cultural, historical, economic, or traditional uses of resources by the Makah tribe were considered to contribute information to the sense of place held by the Makah people.

Tribal positions on contested terrain issues were also included. The elk hunting case described above is a case in point. The Makah tribe's position in that case was that of upholding Native treaty rights. The tribe stated its opinion through lending support to the Quinaults, the tribe around which the case centered. Elk hunting within Olympic National Park is not something with which the Makah are strongly identified. However, the issue was deemed important to the tribe in order to support traditional Native American place meanings. By co-authoring a statement with the Quinault, Hoh, and Quileute, the Makah were endorsing the importance of hunting on Olympic National Park lands to the Quinaults. Hunting elk on those lands was a traditional and historical right of the Quinaults and loosing that right would be an affront to American Indian rights in general.

As sources were reviewed it became apparent that expressed meanings given other than instrumental/goal directed connections (i.e. individual/ expressive and cultural/ symbolic) were not often a part of the debates. Questions in hearings and court proceedings were more often aimed toward discerning specific places, methods, or quantities of resources, such as fish being harvested by Makah people. The purpose was typically to establish a policy which would honor treaties and which would ensure Makah people

obtained their fair share of the harvest. Allowing non-natives to continue to get their stated needs met was also central to the proceedings. Why that harvest was important to people beyond economic reasons was usually not addressed and rarely focused on. It was not until the Makah people started to assert their treaty rights on the basis of reclaiming their cultural identity and heritage did deeper sense of place issues begin to emerge from the data.

Statements were extracted from the sources reviewed. Some of the statements reflect the meaning sense of place has to the individuals making the statements. But, most represent what the Makah tribe as a whole feels is meaningful regarding sense of place. In either instance, it may be possible to conclude that these statements represent Makah tribal sense of place as a whole. Individual sense of place is developed within the culture where the individual is raised. Thus, individuals convey their own individual sense of place based on what has been instilled in them by their culture (Tuan, 1977; Allen & Schlereth, 1990; Williams and Carr, 1993; Brandenburg and Carroll 1995; Kaltenborn, 1997). Following this, it would be possible to form an understanding of a social group's sense of place based on what individuals within that group state as their own sense of place. In the case of the Makah, when individuals expressed views on sense of place they often did so from a collective rather than an individual basis.

For display purposes, the data from a variety of sources is presented according to the categories of sense of place outlined by Williams and Patterson. Their typology includes: instrumental/goal directed, individual/expressive and cultural/symbolic meanings of place. The overwhelming majority of the references to sense of place for the Makah in this study, within all forms of data, concerns the cultural/symbolic category. This category places importance on the spiritual, cultural, historic and geographical context of everyday life. The following are examples of those cultural/symbolic statements.

Spiritual aspects of sense of place found in testimony delivered in the federal court case, *United States of America vs. State of Washington* (civil number 9213), September 10, 1973. The following reply was given to a question regarding tribal uses of salmon:

"Today I think it's practically the same as at the writing of the treaty ... we use it for all our ceremonies and potlach (sic)." (p.2528).

Spirituality as an aspect of whale hunting as stated by Keith Johnson, a Makah tribal member and president of the Makah Whaling Commission. (On-line: <http://conbio.rice.edu/nae/docs/makaheditorial.html>):

"When I was a teenager I was initiated into Makah whaling rituals by my uncle Clifford. While I cannot divulge the details of these rituals, which are sacred, they involve isolation, bathing in icy waters and other forms of ritual cleansing. These rituals are still practiced today and I have been

undergoing rituals to prepare me for the whaling, which is to come this year. Other families are using their own rituals." (p. 5).

Cultural importance of Tatoosh and Waadah Islands (located off Neah Bay and Cape Flattery, these islands were off limits to tribal members for a number of years as they were used as navigation aids) as given in the form of testimony in Senate Hearing H.R. 3376-S. 1979. March 15, 1984:

"Today, no one lives on either Tatoosh or Wa'adah Islands ... Neither of the islands have any commercial potential to the United States. We seek to have these islands returned to our tribe because of their great historic and cultural importance to our people." (p. 22).

"Every Makah Indian grows up knowing that these islands are part of our heritage. We are reminded of this almost everyday." (p. 27).

"Tatoosh Island guards the entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca. In the old days, Indians from other places along the coast who came to visit the Makahs would stop at Tatoosh. So this island means the same to us as the island where the Statue of Liberty stands means to America." (p. 29).

"These two islands have always been part of our history and our life. They are very close to our shore and very close to our heart. Many of our ancestors came from these islands, and we know today who these ancestors were. We still sing the songs and tell the stories that connect us to these family names." (p. 29).

Cultural significance of whaling to the Makah tribe as recorded at a public forum in Forks, Washington. (On-line: <http://www.ptinet.net/~tmuralt/whales.html>):

"We are whalers. It is how we are defined between all American tribes." (p. 1). And, (On-line: <http://www.highnorth.no/awh-pe.html>): "How do you identify as a tribe? Who are the Makah?" A Makah man asks rhetorically. "

Whalers. That's the first word out of the mouth." (p. 1).

Additional comments on whaling were made in a recent fact sheet issued by the Makah Whaling Commission, (Online: <http://conbio.rice.edu/nae/docs/makaheditorial.html>):

- "Whaling has been a tradition of the Makah for over 2000 years. We had to stop in the 1920's due to the scarcity of gray whales. Their all-time abundance now makes it possible to resume that hunt. There has been an intensification of interest in our own history and culture since the archeological dig at our village of Ozette in 1970, which uncovered thousands of artifacts bearing witness to our whaling tradition. Many Makah feel that our health problems result, in some degree, to the loss of our traditional diet of seafood and sea

mammal meat. We would like to restore the meat of the whale to our diet. Many of us also believe that the problems besetting our young people stem from lack of discipline and pride. We believe that the restoration of whaling will help to restore that discipline and pride."

-“To us, the Makah, the Makah Treaty (Treaty of Neah Bay of 1855) is as powerful and meaningful a document as the U.S. Constitution is to other Americans; it is what our forefathers bequeathed to us.”

-“We are attempting to conduct it (the whale hunt) in a way that is as consistent as possible with our traditional manner of whale hunting, but also with the requirement of the International Whaling Commission that the killing of the whale be done in as humane a manner possible.”

-“Whaling and whales have remained central to the Makah culture. They are in our songs, our dances, our designs, and our basketry. Our social structure is based on traditional whaling families. The conduct of a whale hunt requires rituals and ceremonies, which are deeply spiritual. Whale hunting imposes a purpose and a discipline which we believe will benefit our entire community.”

Historically significant issues relating to Makah sense of place as taken from meeting notes in the signing of the Treaty of Neah Bay in 1855. (note: the quote is recorded in the second person as it was given by an interpreter): "He wanted the sea. That was his country. If whales were killed and floated ashore, he wanted for his people the exclusive right of taking them..." (p. 3).

Further comments on the importance of whaling to the Makah is stated in an Associated Press article written by D. Mellgren. (On-line: [http:// www.s ddt.com/ file s/libraryw..._97/ DN971023 at.html](http://www.sddt.com/file/s/libraryw..._97/DN971023.at.html)):

"Fifteen hundred years of energy from our ancestors has come out. We can't even express in words how we feel." (p. 1).

"It's validating our ancestry to allow us to honor this great species of whale. It's a sense of identity for our people. " (p. 2).

Some evidence in the data was found for Williams and Patterson's instrumental/goal directed category where humans are seen as rational planners empowered to choose from the most appropriate options within a system of resource management actions based on consumptive needs and sustainable limits. Historically significant issues relating to this category of Makah sense of place can be taken from meeting notes in the signing of the Treaty of Neah Bay in 1855. (note: the quote is recorded in the second person as it was given by an interpreter): "He was willing to sell his land, all he wanted was the right of fishing." (p. 3).

Another example of instrumental/goal directed category is a statement given by a Makah member to the United States Department of Interior regarding a number of usual and accustomed fishing and hunting grounds. (Publication No. KF.8202.s8r. 1942):

"The Indians lived here all these centures (sic) before white man came, and took care of fish. Indians are conservationalists (sic)." (p. 1).

The economic importance of salmon is given in testimony given in the United Sates vs. the State of Washington. United States District Court, Western District of Washington at Tacoma, civil case number 9213. September 10, 1973:

"Yes, we have depended on that (salmon) in our area, we have nothing out there (Neah Bay) but logging industry and salmon is the only way we can survive." (p. 2528).

Tribal positions related to Makah instrumental/goal directed sense of place were taken from the Quinault elk hunting case and the current whaling debate. The tribe, represented by the Makah Tribal Council and the Makah Whaling Commission, issued statements declaring its position on these issues. In both cases the position of the tribe was that of maintaining traditional rights to resources. This is not to say that the Makah sought to utilize resources at the same levels and under the same circumstances as their ancestors. The position was that of being able to hold on to traditions defined by their culture while working with managing authorities to determine the quantities, seasons, and areas appropriate to exercising those traditions. In a statement, resulting from the Quinault elk hunting case, co-authored by the Makah tribe, the following points were made which outline the tribe's position on resource management (Wray, 1997):

- Self- regulatory and/or joint management efforts are preferable to legislation or court action.
- The right to hunt in the park (Olympic National Park) has been exercised quietly, discreetly and responsibly. Indians have always known the right existed.
- Regulations must be developed in conjunction with the NPS. The National Park Service should not act unilaterally. Allowing the government to exercise any measure of exclusive control will weaken arguments in favor of preserving Indian rights in general.

A fact sheet issued by the Makah Whaling Commission also serves to establish the tribal position taken on ancestral and treaty rights related to natural resources. The Makah Whaling Commission was established by the tribe in order to research the ramifications of whaling, lobby support for whaling, and train modern Makah whalers for the proposed hunt. It issued a fact sheet answering key questions and concerns behind the proposed hunt. The following statements were taken from that release:

-We (the Makah) are legally permitted to take up to five whales per year (According to the International Whaling Commission) but the Makah Gray Whale Management Plan limits the number of landed whales over a five year period to 20--or an average of four per year. The management plan permits whaling only if there is an unmet traditional subsistence or cultural need for the whale in the community.

-The Makah tribe has adopted a highly detailed whaling management plan. The plan will be carried into an agreement with National Marine Fisheries Service and both the plan and the agreement commit the tribe to regulate whaling and to cooperate with the National Marine Fisheries Service. The regulation includes the following provisions: 1. Strict reporting requirements; 2. Area restrictions designed to ensure we take only migrating whales and not resident whales; 3. A prohibition against the taking of suckling calves or female whales accompanied by calves; 4. A prohibition against sale of any whale meat or products except for traditional native handicrafts; 5. National Marine Fisheries Service monitoring of the hunt; 6. Prosecution and punishment of any tribal whalers who violate tribal regulations adopted to carry out the terms of the memorandum of understanding with the National Marine Fisheries Service. (pp. 1-7).

The Makah tribe has started monitoring water quality of rivers in and near their reservation due to intensive logging operations outside the borders of the reservation, logging on private, federal and state forests. They believe this logging has damaged, and continues to damage, water quality in these rivers and the quality of the fisheries in these rivers (Sullivan, 2000). Historically and traditionally the tribe depended on salmon and other fisheries in and near these rivers which now have their headwaters in public and private forests upstream from reservation borders. Sullivan quotes from an edition of the Makah Fisheries News in 1999, "Because of our remote location, no other agencies are looking at the health of our rivers. This land is our home, and we depend on these rivers...water quality standards will allow us to talk to the EPA in their own language, and show them our federally recognized treaty rights are being ignored. " (p. 194 in Sullivan, 2000)

There were no references in the Makah data found regarding Williams and Patterson's third category of sense of place, the individual/expressive category. This category is much more subjective in nature, expressing individual identification with particular places. This lack of individual/expressive meanings is not surprising due to the community focus of tribal peoples and the very nature of the documentation, which consisted often of community expressions or responses on these issues. Kaltenborn (1997) concluded that historic and cultural place meanings hold more importance for sociocultural groups than the current local or cultural context. This appears to be true in the statements

and positions recorded above. Virtually all of them relate current place meanings to the past meanings Makah people placed on ancestral lands and waters. Even though the Makah and the National Park Service have a record of cooperation in a number of issues (Keller & Turek, 1998), the Makah tribe has faced opposition from the National Park Service regarding Elk hunting in Olympic National Park, opposition from Washington state fish and game officials and commercial and recreational fisherman concerning salmon stocks, opposition from environmental groups regarding the Ozette area and Shi-Shi Beach, and opposition from anti-whaling groups concerned with their proposed Gray whale hunt. In the face of this opposition, the tribe has steadfastly maintained the importance of continuing to practice tribal traditions related to natural resources. It can be concluded that exercising tribal ancestral rights is central to Makah sense of place. Modifying tribal traditions to meet current land management policies and/or dominating cultural ideals of conservation, or management techniques practiced towards conservation, seems to be largely unreasonable to the Makah tribe. Particularly when the identity of the tribe is compromised as a result of those policies and ideals.

Land and Place in the View of the Nuu-chah-nulth

This section of the report presents data on Nuu-chah-nulth sense of place. Data were reviewed by searching for excerpts spoken or written by tribal members which conveyed concepts related to sense of place as outlined in the literature. Any statements which spoke to the spiritual, cultural, historical, economic, or traditional uses of resources by the Nuu-chah-nulth were considered to contribute information to the sense of place held by the Nuu-chah-nulth people. Tribal positions on contested terrain issues were also included. Statements were extracted from the sources reviewed. For display purposes, the data from a variety of sources is presented according to the categories of sense of place outlined by Williams and Patterson. Their typology includes: cultural/symbolic, instrumental/goal directed, and individual/expressive.

The cultural/symbolic category of sense of place puts importance on spiritual, cultural, historic and geographical context of everyday life. The following are examples of those cultural/symbolic statements regarding the Nuu-chah-nulth.

In an interview with Archie Thompson, (2000), he speaks of how connected cultural practice was to the land:

“...this kind of history will tell you that we’ve been here so many years in the whaling days where these people here use the big mountains. They use the big mountains there to prepare themselves for the whale hunt. So,

there's nobody in Canada at all that can question our people how long they've been here, what their mountains were used for, and we can name all the mountains that was used by our people."

In a presentation to the Clayoquot Sound Scientific Panel (1995) in 1994, late Ahousat tribal member Roy Haiykupis spoke of the spiritual importance of the Clayoquot River valley, "The power of the spiritual history of the people who lived there, perhaps at the latest in the early part of the previous century, still has to be there. The specific sites for these spiritual searches and vision quests, to me, seem apparent...Nature suggests to us with all its might that this is the central cathedral for meditation and cleansing in readiness for major hunts and excursions. This is where the great bear and whale hunters entered into harmony with the Creator and nature. This is where the valley where those seeking and given healing powers found their alliance with the spiritual for good and destructive powers... Plants and medicines used primarily for the *oo simitch* (Tuusimuch) (training) were obtained in the valley. Today Clayoquot Valley is encountering very serious threat from the outside world in the logging industry...Even allowing for a passage through the valley (e.g. road) would certainly destroy something of the spiritual treasure and quality that is there."

Archie Thompson in his interview (2000) also elaborates on spirituality and its connection to specific places on the land: "...the hereditary chief has his own swimming pool or cleansing area, where he will be praying for safety all the time. And nobody else can touch that but the chief has his own pool where he prays. So its the cleansing, cleansing was such, any cleansing area that was used by the chief...and then there are some people here that use, like when you have grown child there, the initiating thing, like how you going to get that fear out of you. Like, you bathe them. Because there's four different seasons, there's such a thing as cold, and you put them in cold, cold water, this is what you are going to be facing in your life. And all the time they are bathing the kid in the ice cold water, they are praying, they are saying something to the almighty god. Because we are very much in connection with the almighty god above. And this is how people really survived."

In presentations to the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the province of British Columbia, on May 14, 1914 on the Tseshah Reserve, two separate presenters speak of the cultural importance of their activity on the land. "They even don't allow us to shoot deer and game of any kind-I don't know why. We are entitled to this land. Our great-great grandfathers lived and were born here and we are fed on all these things and now we cannot do it."

And, “We claim the salmon ourselves and it should not have anything to do with the whites...When this earth was made and this river with salmon in it and the forests with deer in it and all that we use they were made for us to use and everything that was in it.”

In the 1890 handwritten notes of Henry Guillod the first Indian agent to the west coast agency of Vancouver Island, he speaks of the request of a Nuu-chah-nulth man named Peters regarding a fishing location that the government had given to a white settler, “Peters’ plea is that it is not just to take it away from him, that it belonged to his father and to their father before them, that his eldest daughter was born there, and the land is like the breath of his life.”

Edgar Charlie, hereditary chief of the Kelthmaht Nation, in a 2000 interview speaks of his responsibility as chief and *hahuulhi*, or his relationship to his family’s lands, “*Hahuulhi* is, I should have said some of this, we’re custodians of land, we’re only custodians, we’re only caretakers of the land, it belongs to the creator, that’s why we thank the creator every day.”

In an interview with Robin Smith concerning her 1998 study, Ahousaht elder Stanley Sam speaks of a Chief’s responsibility and relationship to his lands, “We have respect for our *Hawiih* (chief), like your queen of England...*hahuulhi* means the territories of the nation...and we have respect for that, using the word *hahuulhi*...the ocean, mountains and all that what’s around our tribes with the ownerships-that is called *hahuulhi*.. That’s a word for our people...it has been for many generations, many thousands of years. It has been used, this word, for protections of area and also the protections of boundary lines...boundary lines that the people couldn’t go over in use of that territory without any permission from other tribe, because it’s meaning a lot to them.”

In Smith’s study, a prominent community member also speaks of the value his people have for the natural environment, “The value that seemed to be so strong and existed was life itself and the respect for that. And so, if you didn’t need the whole tree, you didn’t cut the whole tree down so readily. It’s not that we didn’t do that. Yes, we had to. When you see the size of some of our canoes in the old days, you had to have some pretty big cedars to do that... if you only needed a few planks, that’s all you took...if you only needed the bark, that’s all you took. You didn’t take down the whole tree just to get at the bark.”

Dr. Richard Atleo, hereditary chief of the Ahousaht, spoke of his people’s intent toward the natural world in a 2001 interview, “...so if you think about *Quu-as* (term for “the people”, “real people”) they always try to balance and harmonize with nature, with what’s around them. So they see these, so they, so they’re doing what? What they see the creator has done elsewhere, you know? And, so there’s the notion of balance and harmony

there. And the idea of balance and harmony then in singing our culture was very much a singing. I remember your grandfather telling me a story, he was, he was chuckling about it as he was out hunting one time, and he heard this singing and heard this sound, this noise and then he discovered it was old so an so, our grand, his, our, grandparent generation from him. And he started laughing away because the fella was singing unconsciously, I guess and he was supposed to be hunting you know, and all the deer of course could hear him coming for miles. But the notion of harmony, right, is important, well-being harmony, balance, it is also interrelated like you take nutrition, you're talking about health, right? And for balance and harmony your body needs health, right?"

In an earlier 1996 interview, Dr. Atleo further elaborates on the relationship between human beings and other kinds of beings that inhabit the natural world. "Western tradition isn't the same as ours...So when we talk about hunting (in the Western context), a human being hunts an animal and the success of the hunter depends on the technology, on the knowledge that is acquired about the habits about the animal, and so on. But not so in our tradition. The success of the hunter, or one who secures another living thing such as a whale...which I am trying to think of new ways of expressing because the relationship between the whaler and the whale are not the same as the relationship between the hunter and the hunted, and the animal, in Western tradition. It's a more equitable relationship. It's very much like in Western tradition when in the same species, when a man woos a woman, right? And so in the very same way, the whaler woos the spirit of the whale and pays it great respect."

Marlene Ateo, Nuu-chah-nulth scholar, in a paper presented to the UNESCO Sacred Sites Symposium in Paris (1998, p. 6) speaks of the sacred duties of Nuu-chah-nulth chiefs and their connection to the land, "Such a sacred site may be viewed as a place for spiritual work, the sacred duty of redistributing the resources of the territory to serve the interests of the group. Narratives and ceremonial names originating in specific sites concretely tie lineage and individuals of such lineage to the land in an intimate manner. Such intimacy over time emits the elaboration of cultural models, schemas, and scripts in which culture is the central organizing feature, but as an artifact of the territory cued by sacred sites in which cognition is meditated by such artifacts interacting with sites in the territory. The sacred sites are then part of an open system of cognitive development of a culture that ties the psychological development intimately to the history of a territory and the sustaining cultural scripts of the people."

In a 2000 interview, Archie Thompson, elder of the Toquaht First Nation, speaks about the cultural impact of losing their natural resources, "So it's got to be understood, we feel. We feel the loss of all our resources. Our nation feels the loss because we realize the

thing we've got to do right today is to...we have a different lifestyle altogether. We can't live off the land no more, its all gone. Because of what they had done to us. These things have to really come out, because of what happened after we, we were put on Indian Reserve. You can't, you wouldn't protect your river anymore because you were put in the Indian Reserve like this. You were the prisoner in your own country. You couldn't fish, you couldn't go get your fish anymore, from your river. Now we got to put more issue into this here, the loss that we feel as a native people. We had hunting grounds that was completely destroyed. We had rivers that were just full of fish, of which there is no more. We got dead river, how?"

A great deal of evidence in the Nuu-chah-nulth data was found for Williams and Patterson's instrumental/goal directed category. This is the category where humans are seen as rational planners empowered to chose from the most appropriate options within a system of resource management actions based on consumptive needs and sustainable limits.

Marlene Atleo (1998. p. 4) stated, "There is growing ethnobotanical evidence that what has been reported as "natural" abundance in the Northwest Coast, was in fact the product of resource management practices by the indigenous peoples of this area." This resource management that Atleo refers to was mainly the responsibility of a chief who had hereditary ownership rights to prescribed territories. The resource management responsibility is described by the late Roy Haiyupus in a 1992 paper presented to the Clayoquot Sound Scientific Panel (Smith, 1998), "The *ha wilth* (hereditary chief) has a responsibility to take care of the forests, the land, and the sea within his *ha hoolthe* (territory) and a responsibility to look after his *mus chum* (tribal members). *Ha hoolthe* is the land and seas and their resources."

Dr. Richard Atleo in his 1996 interview conducted by Juliet Craig, elaborates, "So *ha hoolthe* then refers to resources, refers to physical resources as well as other kinds of human resources and perhaps spiritual resources. And these become commonly known and they are ascribed and become hereditary in a sense." Later in the same interview, he continues, "*Ha hoolthe*, then is a multi-dimensional concept. And in the political dimension, then it very definitely refers to boundary areas, ownership of resources within these boundary areas, and ownership by a person. And specific protocols were attached to the resource so if someone wanted to access resources...for example if I had a clam bed then a family that wished to get some clams would get permission first and then in taking the clams, the first bunch would be brought to the owner, right. That's a form of taxation. It's like a tax, right. But it's an acknowledgement of who owns the property, who owns the resources."

Juliet Craig asked Atleo, "Is there stewardship encompassed in that concept?" Atleo answered, "Yes, yes, yes." Craig asked, "Some responsibility to look after the resource?" And Atleo responded, "Yes, yes. It's another way that the chief provides for the well-being of the people, right, by allowing them access to the resources but with protocol in place."

In anthropologist Phillip Drucker's 1935 field notes, he speaks of this resource management system, "When they have dry fish, etc, the chief would send his young men to people 'WHO HAVE BEEN FISHING IN HIS PROPERTY' (emphasis in original) to collect fish (herring eggs: herring spawn only in Queens Cove, so only the Queens Cove chief can get these). Then he gives a feast with it (this corresponds with previous accounts). *Oumalini*, is what they call it when he sends his young men out in canoes to get fish from halibut fishers, trollers, etc. Person wouldn't refuse, even if it took the last fish he had. 'He'll get to eat it anyhow' "

Drucker speaks of the issue of chief's property, "*Maulun* also used to refer to 'marks' determining water territories, on ocean, etc, (*yaican* 'marks' for cuts on a whale). *Siqap*, when there are going to be lots of salmon berries on his river, he tells people that no one could get there and pick them. This is *siqap*. He can do this for any kind of berries on his river. The younger brother of the chief owns *autsumlhts*, second picking (sometimes would get more than chief to have feast with). After this anyone can go there. He also owned two root digging places and hired women to go there for him."

Stanley Sam, in his 2000 interview asserts the Nuuchah-nulth position that the territories owned by their chiefs have never been ceded, "But the ownership is titles of our land, that never ever been signed by *mamuthni* (white men) that they are titled to it. So, it belongs to our chiefs here. Like I said the other day, there was 900 some odd names of types of songs that's about the cougars. Indian names, those names been sitting there for thousands of years and it hasn't changed. The boundary lines are still there, recognized by our people, still there today and still high ranked names are still there today."

Archie Thompson in his interview explains how songs are used to denote ownership, "We can show them, tell them how we respected each other's territories. Where boundary lines were. And, I can sing a song that connects us to right into the mountains."

This traditional resource management system was already coming into conflict with the Canadian government just after the turn of the century. In a 1914 presentation to the McKenna-McBride Commission, Chief Shewish of the Tseshah Band elaborates on a chief's rights and responsibility, "Only the chiefs had traps and there were 15 traps, and what fish we caught there were distributed amongst the tribe. We only used the traps for a couple of weeks and when there

was a freshet we put our traps away and allowed the fish to go up. The traps were only in use for 2 weeks-the whites came in here and stopped them fishing traps and run the river with their laws and also ran the fish-they thought they would run the place better and thought they would have more fish by having the Indians not use traps. The purse seine (fishing boats) came and began fishing at the mouth of the river, and sometimes they caught 10,000 and 15,000 salmon and they caught the salmon before they got up to the spawning grounds. Even the small fish were caught in the seine-If you can help us to have the purse seine stopped it would be a good thing because I think it is the purse seine that has ruined the fish more than anything else-If they keep on fishing with the purse seine they won't have any salmon to take out of the river."

At a later stop of the same McKenna-McBride Commission, Jimmy Jim, second chief of the Clayoquot Tribe, spoke of government interference with traditional resource harvesting and management, "Now I am going to speak to you about the reserves at Kennedy Lake. There is a fishing place up there in summer and for making canoes. There are a few cedar trees around the shore from the bark of which we made baskets. We cannot do that anymore. We cannot cut down the cedar trees so that we can make canoes or can get the bark. What are we going to do for a living? We want you to ask the head men to allow us to make canoes outside of the reserves. We want you to get us permission to get that bark to make baskets with too. It is pretty hard to get cedar trees on the reserves. It was a very handy place to be at Kennedy Lake, but we are not allowed to be there any more, not even for two days they would not leave us there-not even for trapping or fishing, which we were living on. We wish to have a place to make canoes and some other things, and to sell the baskets and the canoes. We want to be the same as the white men that are living here now. We want to ask you to be allowed to do the same as the white men are doing here with their lands and time limits. There was a case one time when the Indians went up to Kennedy Lake and stayed there for a week or so, until the police came up and some of the fishery overseers and fines them \$16.50 each."

Elder Francis Amos (2000) when interviewed explained the idea of ownership as it relates to the chief's territories, "What ownership means to us is that we actually own the whole of the mountains down to the water, down to the ocean. Fur seals that there was in the springtime like, and those were the good old days, but as of today with DFO (Department of Fisheries and Oceans) interfering with all our activities and that, where does our ownership go?"

Archie Thompson, (2000 interview), agreed concerning the impact of Canadian government resource management, "We can't live off the land no more, we can't live off the land anymore because DFO controls things in the waters, our rivers everything. We

gotta have some sort of permit to get fish from our own rivers.” He also went on to say, “We’ve got no more whales to hunt now... they destroyed all our canoes, because we got no more cedar to make them with. Before the outboards when we used cedar canoes there, our beaches were healthy, because that’s where our food line was, where we got our food from. And then when they put these gas motors, oil spills and everything just destroyed every beach that we had.”

Edgar Charlie, hereditary chief of Kelthsmah (2000 interview), commented about resource management connecting cultural and spiritual meaning with this management of resources, “We don’t own our territories. But to me in my, the way I explain this is we are god chosen people to look after his creation. *Hahulthi* that belongs to him we are only custodians we are only caretakers for the land, And the chief being the chief person to look after, he delegates other people to look after different steams, of different things that go on within the government. That’s the interpretation I wanted to share first, regarding, we don’t really actually own, we are only here to look after it for generations to come. I believe our people had more control of our territory than the way its managed now because our people were, they only used what was needed. It wasn’t through greed, that they were, that they strip all the mountains and clean all the fish out, and everything that’s happened to us so far.”

This idea of sustainable management was echoed in a 1975 letter from A.D. Crerar, Director of Environment and Land Use Committee, to the Honorable Robert Williams, his government minister at the time, in which he discusses the Nuu-chah-nulth and provincial resource laws, “Fish and game laws should be reexamined. Indians say they are conservationists. They will go dip netting, but they will only do so for 3 days in the year. They take more at one time, but less than sport fishermen will do over a year. Also less than a loon (one loon equals 10 fish per day). They feel Indians are endangered species also.”

There were some references in the Nuu-chah-nulth data found regarding Williams and Patterson’s third category of sense of place, the individual/expressive category. This category is much more subjective in nature, identifying with a place on a personal level, and expressing individual identification with particular places.

Dr. Richard Atleo, in a 1996 interview with Juliet Craig, expressed this personal identification with a particular place,

“So the story of the Atleo River Valley, then, would be a historical one and not a lived experience one, okay. We would go there periodically to ...we went there for picnics when I was a younger boy and we’d fish for trouts in the stream there and just have a picnic there, but that’s like going to park,

you know. I mean it's not the same thing anymore. So the changes brought by colonization were extremely dramatic, traumatic I suppose in a sense because...because it reduced our experiences, our way of life, transformed our way of life completely."

"As we flew over the clearcut areas, I began to weep and that was a tremendous surprise. I didn't expect that, I didn't anticipate it. In fact, I've never...because I grew up in residential school, literally grew up in concrete, I never felt much of an affinity for the earth or for plants or for animals because I grew up in concrete, with concrete walls, concrete floors and I spent, I grew up there...But when we flew over Clayoquot Sound area and all of a sudden I was weeping, I knew it had something to do with the clearcuts. I knew it had something to do with the devastation of the land. But even now I would have difficulty explaining adequately what it all meant. Given my history, why was I crying? Given my growing up history, why was I crying? Why would I feel for a devastated land? Then when we went to the Atleo River and we sat in the forest, I had an experience there. It felt as though I was home. It felt like home to me. And that was very surprising because I've never lived there, to my knowledge, I've never lived there. There is...it's hard to explain the kind of feeling, feeling at home, feeling...there was a strong sense deep within-side of me that felt very good, that felt very warm, not in the sense of heat, warm in the sense of love, or in the sense of emotive, relational. The power that one feels when you have a group of people come together at a feast and enjoying, enjoying their company, their fellowship one with another and feasting and the songs and the dances and all, they all culminate in a tremendous sense of empowerment of oneself."

Moses Smith, an Ehattesaht elder, in a contribution to a book of Nuuchahnulth elder sayings (Nuuchahnulth Community Health Services, 1995), spoke of how the connection to land and sea was fostered in Nuuchahnulth children from the earliest age, "...there was practice which the majority of the families used, that a newborn babe, even a female child, on the fourth day the father, or one of the family, one of the parents, one of the immediate family, took this little newborn child, four days old child, and walked into the sea up to the chest level, and put it onto the sea. Cause we people, *quu?* as people, we belong to the sea. The sea is ours. It's what the Creator had given us. Very, very wonderful, just like a garden. We have all the resources of the sea. We should love and

respect the sea. That's the reason they used to take the child and put it into the sea, so it'd have the love and the respect for the sea."

Interpretation

This study was intended to analyze the historical relationships the Nuu-chah-nulth peoples have with the lands and sea surrounding their communities, and with the government agencies that control these lands. The fact that Nuu-chah-nulth peoples share a common culture, and find themselves split by an international border, and thus have engaged in different contested terrain debates throughout their post contact histories, also leads to making comparisons between the Makah and the rest of the Nuu-chah-nulth nation. If differences do appear in contemporary relationships with land between the Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth, it can be suggested that relationships with different agencies in the context of different contested terrain debates may have caused these differences.

Our review of sense of place literature led to the adoption of Williams and Patterson's typology as the most culturally sensitive way to examine sense of place with aboriginal peoples. In the proceeding section, we presented the data that illustrates the historical and contemporary sense of place of the Nuu-chah-nulth and the Makah. Analysis of this data leads us to the following interpretations.

The most evident category of Williams and Patterson's typology found in the data was the cultural/symbolic category where place creates a sense of historical, spiritual and cultural significance for a whole group. Both the Makah and the Nuu-chah-nulth made frequent statements, both in contemporary and archival records, to the cultural, spiritual and historical significance of lands within their territories. Activities they spoke of on these lands were also commonly framed in these terms. In some ways it could be expected that cultural symbolic meanings would be evident in the research findings because much of the archival records and the contemporary public statements concerning place are occasioned when the Nuu-chah-nulth or Makah as a group are engaged in a contested debate concerning their lands. Speakers then, whether in written submission or oral testimony, are representing the group as a whole rather than themselves as individuals. They often rely on using culturally relevant, cultural/symbolic sense of place expressions as a means of expressing their tribe's shared ties to the land so that they may argue for retaining their rights to or access to that land. This does not diminish the depth of feelings that these tribal peoples hold for the lands and waters in and surrounding their homelands. The eloquent expressions of cultural/symbolic sense of place found in the data indicate that this category of sense of place holds a preferred status with these peoples.

As previous scholars have indicated, the spiritual aspects of life and the land holds a primary place in the lives of indigenous peoples. The spiritual is integrated with all aspects of life, so even a discussion of the land or economics or management involves the spiritual. So, even though spiritual is part of the cultural/symbolic category of Williams and Patterson's typology, it is impossible to separate out spiritual references to sense of place into just that category--it is pervasive in all aspects of life including sense of place. The same could be said for the collective orientation of aboriginal people as opposed to the more individualist orientation predominant in Western society. When peoples define themselves more in terms of relationship to others, and when those others can include other species, then discussions of relationships to land may be more appropriately placed in cultural/symbolic terms rather than in individualist expressive terms.

The second most prevalent of Williams and Patterson's typology of sense of place found in this study was that of the instrumental/goal directed category. This category is most akin to the resource management view held by Anglo-Americans whereby natural resources are managed to offer specific benefits and humans are empowered how best to appropriate those resources based on consumptive needs and sustainable limits. We have already indicated that growing ethnobotanical evidence is leading scientists to recognize that the natural abundance of the Pacific Northwest was in fact the product of resource management by indigenous peoples such as the Nuu-chah-nulth and the Makah. Both groups affirmed in the data historical resource management systems, under the direction of hereditary chiefs, where complex systems of active management of areas including streams, forests, coasts, and fishing areas was accomplished. Not only was there a system for managing and being custodians of specific resources, but there were also complex systems for subsequent distribution of harvested resources.

The instrumental /goal directed references found in the Makah data were clear, giving evidence of continued instrumental orientation to place, but were nowhere near as abundant as the references made to this type of sense of place in the Nuu-chah-nulth data. In the Nuu-chah-nulth data the continuance of a traditional resource management system seems to have occurred in the face of the imposition of a competing resource management system by the Canadian and British Columbia governments. Nuu-chah-nulth communities can still clearly articulate who their hereditary chiefs are, where their territories are, what the responsibilities of chiefs are to community and vis versa, and the location and means of harvesting the multiple resources found within their *hahaahli* (territory). While archival evidence and contemporary references in the Makah data clearly support that a traditional resource management system existed, its' continued influence in resource management and allocation for Makah peoples seems to have waned in the face of state and federal resource

management. This lack of evidence in contemporary Makah data may not mean that the system no longer exists, but rather that it may have gone underground as frequently occurs when aboriginal cultural practice faces suppression by a settler/colonial government.

The more frequent references to instrumental/goal related meaning in the Nuuchah-nulth data may also have much to do with the historical events occurring now on their lands. The Nuuchah-nulth are engaged in modern day treaty negotiations to resolve such issues as ownership within their traditional territories and for compensation for past resource extraction on their lands. In such a context it may be natural for the Nuuchah-nulth to speak more freely about their own traditional resource management systems and to assert the continuance of a governance system to oversee them. For the Makah, their 1855 treaty would have resolved some of these matters, but the archival record of statements made during that time period are thin, and subject to the limitations of translations by colonial powers. Where it does surface in the Makah data, it is in the context of contested terrain debates--the same context where it is now surfacing in the modern day contested terrain debates of the Nuuchah-nulth.

The individual/expressive category of the Williams and Patterson typology includes meanings humans attach to places as a whole, even to the extent of identifying with them on a person level. Little evidence of this sense of place category was found in the Makah data. This may be a function of the way the data was collected. Because of the limits of the study due to the political situation on the Makah reservation, no personal interviews were conducted with Makah tribal members as part of this study. We had to rely on archival data, along with some contemporary data from news accounts. Much of the archival data available from the Makah perspective came from contested terrain debates where Makah people were testifying to Commissions or as part of legal proceedings. In this context, their statements were often pleas made to retain tribal rights to resources. They seldom expressed these in terms of individual wants or needs. Rather, they purposely framed their testimony in terms of collective (for the tribe as a whole) rather than as individuals.

In the case of the Nuuchah-nulth, individual expressive meanings of place were still much less evident than the other categories of Williams and Patterson's typology, but they did exist. Perhaps the access to individual sources through interviews allowed us to gather more expressions of the individual/expressive meanings than what could be found only through archival material. Though references to this category were few in the data, the quality and depth of the comments gave sufficient evidence to the fact that this aspect of sense of place is found in Nuuchah-nulth relationships to land. One interesting thing to note, however, is that this deep sense of personal attachment is also connected to family and the patterns of historical relationship their families had to this place. In the case of one

interviewee, who had never actually had much personal experience of a valley in Nuuchah-nulth territory, he still felt a deep personal identification and attachment to the place once he arrived there, based upon family histories and accounts of the location.

One of the themes that emerges from both Makah and Nuuchah-nulth data, but most strongly in Nuuchah-nulth data, is the assertion of continued ownership of land and resources by hereditary chiefs and families. In a contested terrain debate, like the one presently in British Columbia, where the very title to the land long asserted by the provincial government is now questioned or encumbered by legal decisions, one may expect increased reference to ownership to be prevalent in all conversations concerning land and resources by aboriginal people. This was evident in the Nuuchah-nulth data by the continued reference to the term *hahuuhli*, ownership and custodianship of natural and human resources within a chief's territory. Songs and boundary markers as well as oral histories provide contemporary evidence in support of these claims of ownership.

Williams and Kaltenborn described a dichotomy of sense of place, ranging from a "thick" attachment to a "thin" attachment. A thick attachment represents a deep personal attachment to the land developed by long term and intense experiences. A thin connection is more superficial and based on shorter term less intensive experiences. In their 1997 article McDonald and McAvoy suggested that the long term residency of aboriginal people on their homelands would lead them to have a very thick attachment to place. Certainly the data from both Makah and Nuuchah-nulth communities in this study provides ample and rich descriptions of thick attachment to place. The reader can recognize the depth of attachment that would result from a child being carried into the sea in the arms of her/his parent soon after birth and subsequently repeating the experience into adulthood. Or, the effect of generation after generation using spiritual preparation sites or resource gathering sites to meet the needs of the family or community.

One of the things the data does is to suggest that even though the Makah and Nuuchah-nulth share a culture and a pre-contact history, contemporary differences in their relationship to the land and government agencies exist. One of the things that may account for this is the differing contested terrain debates they have found themselves in since settlers moved into their territory. Common cultures under different governments interacting with different land management agencies and under different Indian policies may find over periods of time that the relationship to land grows less similar as a result. The signing of a treaty by the Makah over 150 years ago has altered their relationship to the land in a way that cannot be found in Nuuchah-nulth communities. The fact the Nuuchah-nulth communities are only now engaging in treaty negotiations after 150 years of external pressures on their lands will lead them to construct a different relationship to land than their

southern relatives. Contexts do matter, and in the case of aboriginal people, historical context may matter more than others.

Recommendations for Resource Management Agencies Regarding American Indian Sense of Place and Contested Terrain

The findings of this study indicate that the American Indian/First Nation peoples in this study hold deep emotional, symbolic and spiritual meanings of these places that used to be their traditional lands, lands that are now publicly owned and managed by governmental resource management agencies. These meanings influence their lifestyles, environment, and perceived quality of life. The results of this research lead us to make the following recommendations to land management agencies:

- 1.) Natural resource managers need to be more aware of the depth and significance of these sense of place meanings to American Indians/First Nations. This is especially important in lands near American Indian communities, lands that for centuries were utilized by tribal groups and are now under the management of federal and state or provincial governments as parks or protected areas. Land managers should learn more about the world-view, land ethic and value systems important to American Indians.
- 2.) Managers need to be aware that the way federal, state and provincial lands were obtained for park and forest area creation affects how American Indians feel toward and interact with these lands, and the governmental employees who manage them. In some cases these lands were actually, or seemingly, stolen from tribal peoples and those peoples had no say in how they were used or managed.
- 3.) Debates over natural resources may symbolize cultural reclamation and the ability of a tribal people to determine their own destiny. Self-determination is important to any culture. Tribal people's recent heightened efforts to demand a role in natural resource management of traditional lands is a form of self determination.
- 4.) Traditional practices like hunting, fishing, whaling and gathering should be allowed, accommodated and honored for tribal members in a way that respects the viability of the resource. American Indians identify so strongly with natural resources around them that if they cannot live on their own terms with the natural resources they historically used, then they cannot live fully.

5.) Managers need to seriously consider local decision making, cooperative resource management, and co-management options for lands that were traditionally held and used by American Indian peoples. Co-management in this case should include an integration of western and aboriginal resource management systems. In these co-management situations the American Indians need to be fully involved in all phases of the planning, goal setting, and management process, and their traditional knowledge valued alongside scientific research, and not just in an advisory way where the agency retains all power. Managers also need to allow for increased time and consultation at each stage of the process.

6.) Managers need to be aware of a heightened sense of cultural values attached to places in and near American Indian tribal areas. These cultural values will include an enduring sense of spiritual attachment to the land.

7.) Managers need to be aware that in contested terrain debates involving aboriginal peoples, tribal members' expressions of sense of place are likely to be expressed as communal and tribal oriented, and not individually/expressive as is often the case with Anglo-American participants in the debate. The persistence of tribal relationships to land within long standing contested terrain debates has been a result, in part, of the willingness of tribal communities to act in solidarity rather than as individuals.

8.) Managers need to consider the effects of planning and management on all "community" members, with "community" including the human members, the natural world, elders, and ancestors.

Conclusion

Gaining insight into American Indian/First Nation sense of place by natural resource managers can lead to the creation of policies which will be accepted by a more diverse population, and minimize costly contested terrain conflicts. By examining how tribal groups like the Nuu-chah-nulth, including the Makah, have historically related to the land and the resources surrounding them, resource managers can make management decisions which will be sensitive to them. American Indian groups, perhaps more than any other sociocultural group, see themselves as being inseparable from the natural world, and more importantly from the specific places they identify as homelands. It is important for resource managers from the dominant white culture to bear this in mind. Not for the purpose of adopting an American Indian land ethic, but for the purpose of developing co-

management policies which honor and respect people who have proven their willingness and ability to manage natural resources in a sustainable way.

We hope our research can improve the sense of understanding and tolerance between resource managers and American Indians, and result in more cooperation in the management of resources. And, lastly we believe there is benefit in listening to people who have a long historical relationship to the land. In some cases this relationship is centuries old, in other cases for a number of generations. We believe there is knowledge contained in this long relationship. And this knowledge is important in cooperative and ecosystem management of resources. As stated by Kimmerer, "traditional knowledge is particularly useful in identifying reference ecosystems and in illuminating cultural ties to the land" (2000, p. 4).

It is challenging to attempt to describe and understand the sense of place of particular groups of American Indians, and to attempt to do so through an analysis of historical and contemporary documents with only a limited amount of personal input from tribal members. It is especially difficult and challenging given the shared history the governments of Canada and the United States have with these tribal groups. Contested terrain has almost certainly defined this relationship. We have tried our best to understand this sense of place in an ethical, respectful way. The nature of this project is largely historical, and there are limitations in such a study approach. We are aware of the limitations and ethical issues in trying to interpret the cultural history of another culture. We agree with Donald Fixico who stated the following in a paper written on ethical implications in recording American Indian history:

"American Indian communities possess internal histories of relations defined according to their separate cultures. Tribal communities are built on an infrastructure of interrelated societies and roles, such as clans, leaders, warriors, medicine persons, and others. An important part of this network is the community's relationships with the flora, fauna, and metaphysical spirituality. This network is based on sociocultural understanding of a religious nature. Such an understanding of the internal history of what has happened within the community remains foreign to the Americentric historian. This dimension of Indian history cannot be seriously studied until new tools of historical interpretation and new theories can be developed." (Fixico, 1998, p. 91)

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